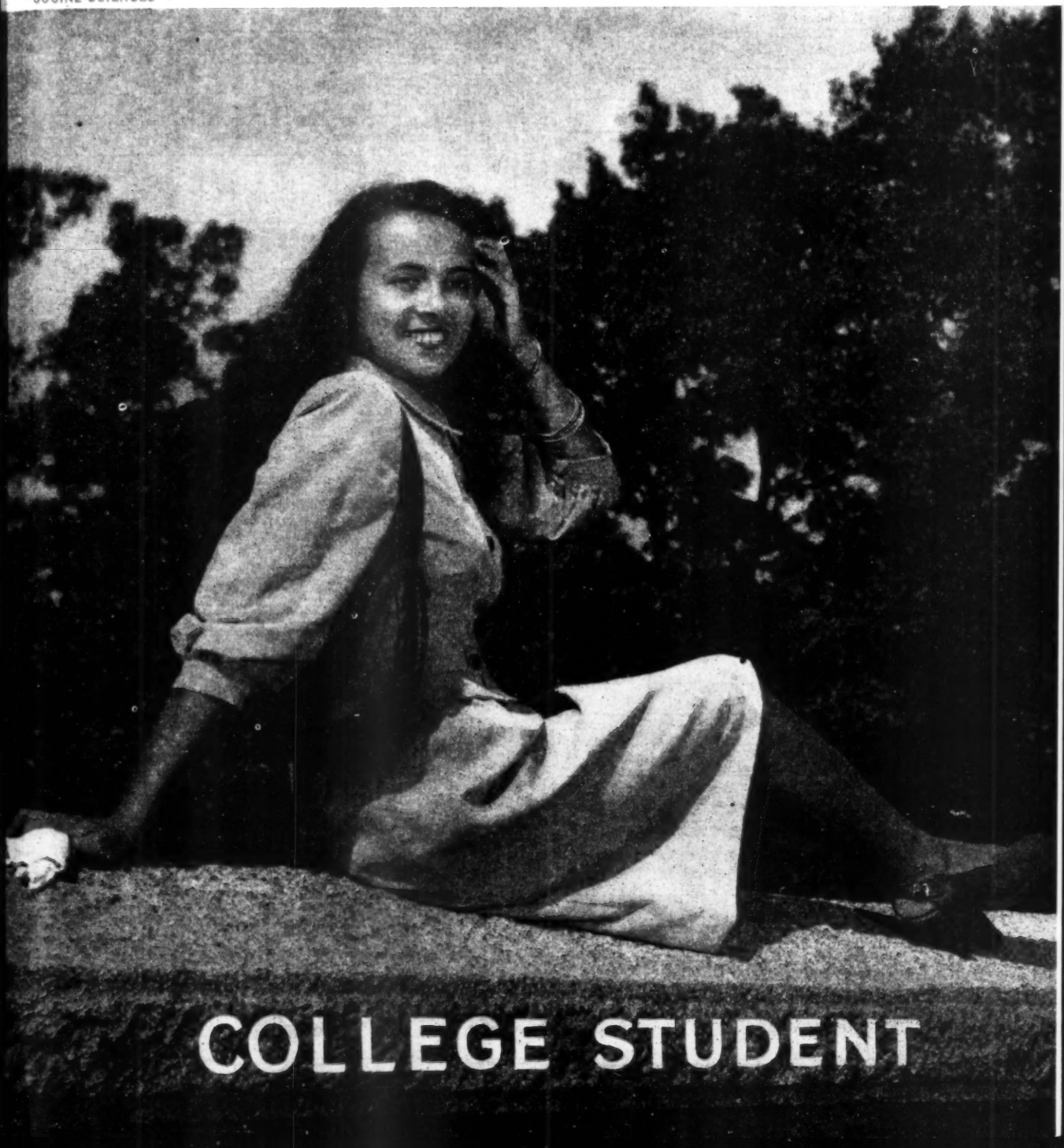
The CRISIS

OCTOBER, 1946

SOCIAL SCIENCES

HOW SHOULD THE NEGRO VOTE? . . . See Page 306

15¢



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Vol. 53, No. 10 Whole Number 430

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at* 20 *West* 40*th Street, New York* 18, *N. Y., by the Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15 *cents a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879.

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

THE COVER pictures Miss Barbara Pottz, student at Howard university. Miss Pottz is interested in music and sports. Photograph by Morgan Smith.

HAROLD PREECE (Klan "Murder, Inc.," in Dixie, page 299) is well-known for his contributions to our pages. His last article, "The Klan's 'Revolution of the right,'" appeared in the July issue. The piece created high dudgeon in the breasts of southern Ku Kluxers and much discussion in liberal circles. Mr. Preece reports the South from on-the-spot information and often reveals southern racial trends while they are still in embryo.

He reminds us in this article that the notorious Nazi Nuremberg racial decrees aimed at the Jews were patterned on Dixie's "techniques of racial oppression." This is not generally known and Americans do not like to have it mentioned.

GEORGE PADMORE ("Trusteeship: The New Imperialism," page 302) lives in London. He has been contributing his brilliant analyses of colonial problems to *The Crisis* for many years now. In addition to his regular writings, Mr. Padmore publishes his monthly "Colonial Parliamentary Bulletin" (compiled from Hansard), a digest of parliamentary debates and interpellations on colonial affairs.

Mr. Padmore was recently in Paris covering the peace conference for his publication, but returned to London in September.

HENRY LEE MOON ("The Negro Vote in 1946," page 306) is assistant director of the CIO Political Action Committee (PAC). "We want as many persons as possible as possible," Mr. Moon writes us, "to have some idea of the number of districts in which Negro voters may exercise a balance of power in the congressional elections."

OUR NOVEMBER ISSUE will carry full reports on the Columbia, Tennessee, "riot" trial now in progress at Lawrenceburg, Tennessee.

Eliot Wagner will have a stirring short story called "An American Artist."

James Farmer has a thought-provoking article on consumer cooperatives in the South.

We have scheduled the following articles for forthcoming issues:

- **★ A review of the Paris peace conference by George Padmore**
- **★ A sketch of the King Cole Trio by Dixon Gayer**
- **★ A report on the crisis in Jamaican self-rule by George F. McCray**
- **★ A piece on the Negro and the Boy Scouts of America**
- **★ Pictures of the Carline clinic at Corpus Christi, Texas**

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College and School News

During the school year 1945-46, 1,221 persons studied at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.), according to figures compiled in the registrar's office. A total of 733 students, 466 women and 267 men, were enrolled in the college of arts and sciences during the regular sessions. Eighty-three persons studied by correspondence. In the 1945 intersession group were 40 persons. In the 1945 summer session there were 235, eleven of whom took graduate work; and seven persons pursued graduate courses during the regular school term.

Tenty-one students were enrolled in the school of law and five in the school of journalism. Lincoln students came from 22 states, including Missouri. The largest number of out-of-state students came from Oklahoma, and the second largest number from Illinois.

Edgar Love, Lincoln '40, with an M. A. from the University of Michigan, has been appointed administrative assistant in ordnance supply in Manila, Philippines.

Thirty-one candidates received degrees at the commencement convocation of the summer session of the university.

On September 12-14 the school was host to the National Jeanes Association, Regional No. 2. Theme of the meeting was "Community Civic Relationship."

Miss Regina Goff, assistant professor of education at Lincoln, was invited by the Alpha Upsilon chapter of Pi Lambda Theta to participate in the sessions of the biennial council held at Teachers College, Greeley, Colorado, August 18-21.

Lincoln announces the following changes in faculty personnel effective as of September 1: nine leaves of absence for study; R. Clyde Minor, J. V. Strickland, C. C. Damel, H. Monroe Purnell, A. A. Dunson, Ethel Griggs, Joseph T. Johnson, Armistead S. Pride, T. Thomas Fortune Fletcher. Promotions in rank include: J. N. Freeman, from assistant professor to professor; J. E. Miller, from assistant professor to associate professor; L. W. Matcher and G. H. Williams, from instructors to assistant professors; and F. N. Gatlin, to assistant professor.

The following new appointments have been made to the faculty: Willis Jackson, mechanical engineer of Detroit, as resident mechanical engineer and instructor in department of mechanic arts; David E. Rice of Philadelphia as assistant professor of law in the law

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school; Nicholas L. Gerren of Bennett college as instructor in music; Mrs. Pauline B. Eans of Alabama State as head nurse in the university health service; Mary Louise Brown of Palmer Memorial institute as instructor in English; Mrs. Ruth P. Griggs of Brooklyn as assistant professor of vocational home economics; Charles Heard returns as assistant instructor in physical education and assistant to the dean of students; Mrs. Elizabeth Jordon returns as assistant instructor in university laboratory high school; William Edward Walker of Wilberforce as assistant instructor in agriculture; Thelma A. Burford of Cape Girardeau, Mo., as secretary to the university president; William H. McCulloh of Jefferson City, Mo., as assistant in the department of maintenance; and Walter H. Hollins of Florida A. and M. college as assistant professor of journalism.

MRS. ALICE B. DONALDSON
Fourteen years a teacher and six years a principal at the Cotton Valley school, La. In June 1946 she received "citation for distinguished service" from the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches.

John H. Sweitzer, superintendent of buildings and grounds at FISK UNIVERSITY, has announced that work has been started on two dormitories for students at the university. The dwellings, expected to be completed in early October, are to be located at 912 Eighteenth Avenue, North. The two units, provided by the FPHA, consist of a two-story building which will accomodate 38 men, and a single-story dormitory with space for 16 men. Study

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DR. HOWARD THURMAN

One of the twelve collaborating authors of TOGETHER *and dean of the Andrew Rankin Chapel and professor of the philosophy of Religion at Howard university. Now on leave, he is acting as co-pastor of the Fellowship church of all peoples, San Francisco, Calif., which is a venture in creative religion cutting across all lines.*

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The university announces the appointment of Julian Bell as instructor in physical education. Mr. Bell comes to Fisk from Walla Walla, Washington, where for the past three years he has been director of the Main Street USO.

Prior to 1943 he taught physical education for fifteen years in the high schools of Memphis, Lucy, and Whiteville, Tennessee. A native of Kentucky, Mr. Bell graduated from Tennessee A. and I. State college in 1928, with a B. S. degree in education. He took his M. A. in health and physical education at the University of Michigan in 1943.

New head of the department of religion and philosophy at Fisk is Dr. Lyman V. A. Cady. A member of the school of theology faculty at Cheeloo university, China, for twenty years, Dr. Cady comes to the university from Monticello college, Alton, Illinois. He has taught also at Wabash and Hanover colleges in Indiana, and at Anatolia college, Marsovan, Turkey.

Dr. Cady attended Oliver college, Michigan, and completed his undergraduate work at Grinnell college, Iowa. He received the B. D. degree from Oberlin, and the S. T. M. and S. T. D. degrees from Union Theologi-

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cal Seminary. He is the author of a number of books.

On August 9 HAMPTON INSTITUTE paid tribute to the genius and achievements of the late Robert Nathaniel Dett, gifted musician and former director of the music department of the institute, in a concert devoted exclusively to Dr. Dett's works.

The program was made up of selected works from the whole range of Dr. Dett's compositions, including numbers for organ, piano, violin, chorus, and solo voice. The choral numbers were presented by a mixed chorus of one hundred voices, representing thirty-six choirs from the churches of the Tidewater area, trained by Dr. Dorsey with the assistance of Ernest Hays, organist at the institute.

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from fifteen states in attendance at the first session, and 290 at the second session.

The summer convocation of the fifty-fifth year of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was held August 16, with Dr. D. T. Murray, president of the Negro board of education, delivering the convocation address. Twenty persons received degrees.

Summer session at VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY closed August 6 with an enrollment of 376. Approximately twenty persons completed requirements toward degrees, but these will not be officially awarded until June, 1947.

Fall session of the university began September 17 with the largest enrollment in the history of the school.

Union was the only Negro college represented in prizes awarded to seventy-eight winners and schools in the Hunter college intercultural-relations-essay contest. Lucius S. Robinson, instructor in German at the university, was listed among the eighteen other teachers who won $100 bonds as prizes. The essay contest, co-sponsored by Hunter college, New York City, and Lane Bryant, specialty store group, commemorates the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Hunter college, the largest woman's college in the country.

A school of business administration was opened at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY on September 25. According to Dr. Clement, president of the university, purpose of Atlanta's newest professional school will be to provide training in the fundamental principles which determine the conduct of business affairs for those who are looking forward to places of management in business and in the expanding field of public and private employment.

The school will have the service of a faculty long experienced in business and teaching. Visiting lecturers will add their authoritative contributions from time to time during the year.

Yale university awarded the degree of Ph. D. to George D. Kelsey, director of the school of religion at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE, on June 25.

Beginning with the September term, ALBANY STATE COLLEGE expanded its offerings in the humanities to include a department of modern languages.

Thirty housing units, sponsored jointly by the federal government and the college, were opened for veterans and their families on September 1.

According to announcements of registrar J. T. Brooks, twenty-two persons at ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE were listed as honor students in the summer-quarter-graduating class of the college division.

Twenty-fifth summer-school commencement of the college was addressed by Sterling Brown of Howard university. Twenty-two in-service teachers received M. Ed. degrees, and 168 persons received B. S. degrees.

Among those who received degrees at the summer convocation of OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY were sixteen colored students who received various masters' degrees and a Ph. D.

Howard Emery Wright, a professor at North Carolina State college in Durham, N. C., received his Ph. D. in psychology.

The following graduates received M. A. degrees: former Lt. Colonel Charity Edna Adams, Columbia, S. C.; Roxie Beatrice Butler, Statesboro, Ga.; Evelyn C. Cothran, Roanoke, Va.; Margaret Elizabeth Day, Columbus, Ohio; James G. Despinasse, New Orleans, La.; John W. Dillard, Belpre, Ohio; Robert Pete Griffin, Columbus; Hilliary R. Hatchett, Columbus; Elva J. Howell, Tuskegee, Ala.; Esther M. Jackson, Columbus; Walter E. Johnson, Bellaire, Ohio; Moses G. Miles, Lakeland, Fla.; Alama L. Porter, Columbus; Bettye S. Turner, Birmingham, Ala.; James S. Wade, Columbus; and Adolph P. Hamblin, Institute, West Va.

The REAVER SCHOOL OF CHIROPRACTIC, Dayton, Ohio, the only institution of its kind in America which welcomes Negro and white students on other than a quota basis, has announced the opening of its mid-fall classes to begin November 4. Applicants are required to have a high-school education or its equivalent.

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Editorials

Robinson Makes Good

THE baseball season is over and apparently Jackie Robinson has more than made good with the Montreal Royals. He led the International League in batting, was near the top in base stealing, and fielded his position at second base in flawless fashion. Unofficially it is reported that he will be called up to try out with the Brooklyn Dodgers next spring. It has been announced that the Dodgers will train in Santa Ana, Calif., and that the reason for the change from Florida is Robinson. Perhaps by the time this is printed an official announcement will have been made.

We will see what next the calamity howlers bring up to discourage the further introduction of Negro players in the big leagues. Jimmy Powers of the New York Daily News said Robinson would never make the grade even in AAA baseball. One writer (who evidently has not travelled anywhere in the last ten years) said Robinson would not be able to get a Pullman berth. Others said he would not get anywhere with his team mates and this would lose ball games.

Well, Robinson fooled them all. He won praise from his Mississippi-born manager. He gets along fine with his team mates. He is admired and respected by fans in every town except those in dear old die-hard Baltimore. On his own account he is probably responsible for at least 50,000 additional paid admissions even in this season of record-smashing gates. What more do those knights of fair play, the sportswriters, want?

Navy "Democracy" In Guam

THE United States Government, through the Navy department, is maintaining a policy of tyranny in Guam and Samoa, according to Harold L. Ickes, writing in *Collier's* under the title, "The Navy at Its Worst."

In Guam the Navy established "inferior education in segregated schools;" banned the Chamorro language and burned all dictionaries of this language; replaced native police with Marines; exiled all Roman Catholic priests; forbid the natives to whistle on the streets near the naval governor's palace; taxed Guamanians but not naval personnel; took forty years to chlorinate the water supply. Today, says the former Secretary of the Interior, the Navy has failed to compensate Guamanians for their losses of life, personal property and land, although Congress passed a bill appropriating the money a year ago.

Guamanian carpenters are paid 43 cents an hour while white Americans brought from the mainland receive $1.66. an hour. All, however, buy from the licensed stores and pay the same prices: shoes $7.10; corned been 53 cents a pound.

"Naval Absolutism sneers at every constitutional guarantee," writes Ickes. "It permits inhabitants of Guam to be subject to arrest, trial, and sentence for any offense, up to and including a capital one without presentation or indictment by a grand jury, without jury trial. . . . The houses of the people can be entered and searched without a warrant, their property seized at will by a police officer, and they can be—and are— ordered from their houses and lands at any hour of the day or night."

To this blast, the Navy furnished an unofficial reply through Robert P. Martin, New York Post foreign correspondent, who said the Navy was doing a good job in a difficult situation which civilians would not understand; and that the natives were happy and loyal although "they have not been given access to the basic civil rights—elected political leadership, adequate education, representation in the councils of those who rule them, trial by jury with right of appeal."

So, confirmed by a "defense" statement, Mr. Ickes is right. Under Navy rule, the Guam and Samoa natives are deprived of basic civil rights. They are soon to be under Navy civil rule (as distinct from Navy military rule) which means they will be absolutely at the mercy of the admiral-governor. Here is another example of the "democracy" America is exporting to the rest of the world. Here is the very type of thing denounced in the United Nations charter. It is little wonder that Negroes who served in the Navy are even more bitter than those who served in the Army. The "Navy mind" on colored people is the Dixie mind, undiluted. Let our people ponder this whenever any legislation is up for consideration which gives power over civilian life to military men.

Oust Bilbo?

THERE is understandable logic as well as emotion in the fervent hope in many quarters that Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi may be ousted from the Senate because of irregularities in campaign contributions and the white supremacy aspect of the election. Logically, regardless of state's rights, no man should be seated in the Congress who believes and publicly states that American citizens should be denied their constitutional rights. Such a man is not fit to legislate for the nation and if his state chose him by a 100% vote he should be denied his seat on the ground that he and his state have, in effect, repudiated the constitution and seceded from the union.

Likewise, no man should be seated who deliberately slanders whole sections of the population because of their race, religion, color, or country of origin. This is not a nation (thank God!) of Anglo-Saxon Mississippians, but a country made great by the talents of peoples of every land, color and religion. In it every man is entitled to his pet prejudices as personal prerogatives. But no man, especially one in America's highest legislative chamber, is free to translate his personal prejudices into the law of the land, or to use the immunity of his office to divide the nation by spreading suspicion, prejudice, hatred and violence.

Senator Bilbo is guilty on both counts and his record is too long and too public to be once more detailed here. But we have a strong feeling that Bilbo will not be ousted. The Senate is still a gentleman's club where no member does more than spar with another member. No hard blows are struck and no feelings or reputations are hurt. The U. S. Senate is still a place where wealthy, artistocratic Republican Robert A. Taft links arms and makes common cause with Dixie Democrat Bilbo. They spat with each other, but they have voted alike on some very significant issues. So we think an investigating committee will make a few motions and retire. Bilbo will be with us in the 80th Congress, shouting about the Negro, the Jew, the Italian, the Communists, and others—and making more friends for these groups and for progressive democracy than ever before.

The Negro "Bloc"

GEORGIA politicians (not the Talmadge variety) are reported by a New York Times correspondent as being afraid that Negroes will vote as a racial bloc. They need have no such fear. There are about as many different kinds of Negroes as there are Irishmen, Jews, Poles, and Italians. Except on sharp racial issues there is no "Negro vote."

THOUGH MOB VIOLENCE *spreads in the U. S., thousands of Americans are protesting against the decrees of Judge Lynch. Here are marchers in a protest against the Monroe, Ga., lynchings parading down Market street, San Francisco, Calif., with muffled drums, placards, and four coffins, symbolizing the four victims. Mrs. Dorothy Malcolm, one of the victims of the Georgia mob. Dr. Robert S. Wilkinson of New York examining the unhealed scars of Albert Harris, Jr., left for dead by a lynch mob near Minden, La.*

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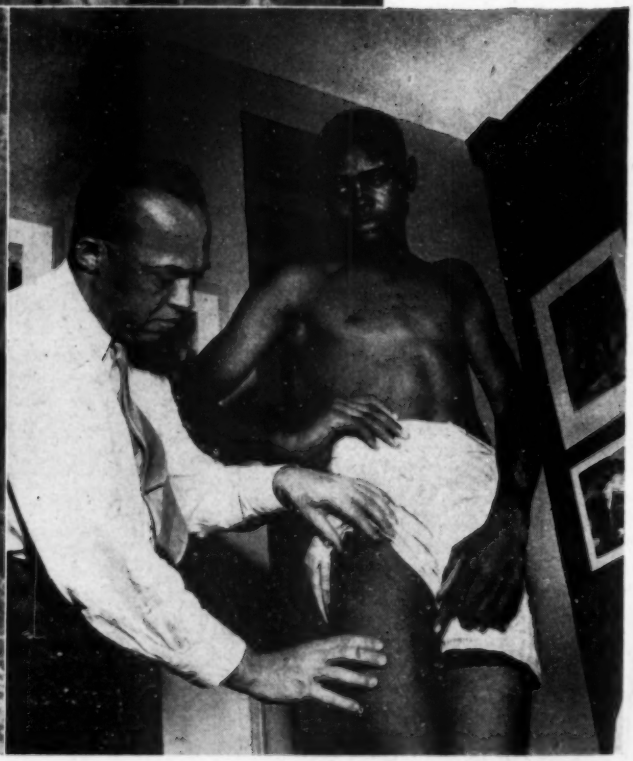


Klan "Murder, Inc.," in Dixie

By Harold Preece

"ON the face of the record, the suppression of lynching is being adequately taken care of by Southern Peace officers."—Editorial, "Southern Weekly," Dallas, Tex., Jan. 8, 1944.

"The South is sick of the conniving secrecy which protects perpetrators of such crimes."—Editorial, Chattanooga (Tenn.) "Times," July 27, 1946, two days after the lynching of two Negro ex-servicemen and their wives near Monroe, Ga.

There's probably no truth to the story being passed around in labor and liberal circles down here that the Ku Klux Klan is planning to change its traditional emblem by super-imposing a policeman's star upon the fiery cross. But nobody in this land, where the ghouls and goblins of the ku klux "dens" measure strength with labor unions and Negro suffrage movements for mastery of the South's future, question one hard, cold fact:

That a new "Murder, Inc.," executing its judgment of death against a whole people, is operating in an organized and systematically cruel fashion from Maryland to Texas.

The bloody core of the ring is the Klan, now the key organization of the whole world-wide tightly-knit fascist internationale which simply shifted its main base of operations across the Atlantic after the fall of Berlin. The storm trooper corps, supported by public funds appropriated from the taxes of whites and Negroes alike, is an interlocking and carefuly-directed corps of southern police officers. When Talmadge becomes governor of Georgia and Beauford Jester governor of Texas, next January, the policemen will be constituted into a special Klan division with special instructions relayed orally through wandering "kouriers" from that hidden clique of wealthy industrialists who call the ku klux tune.

Already, through the connivance of big landlords anxious to get by with rock bottom wages at the same time that they wallow in a boom price of thirty-five cents a pound for cotton, Klan influence has already smashed whatever frail machinery of law and order that may have existed in the sullen and always savage rural South. One year after V-J Day, the laws of a sovereign republic are as impotent to protect its citizens in the cotton country as were the laws of the Weimar republic to guard its people in those sections of Germany that were pushovers for the closely associated ally of the Klan, Hitler's National Socialist Party.

The time has come to place large areas of the South under martial law and to try lynchers by summary military court proceedings. This article by a native Southerner explains why

Dixie's Murder, Inc.

Until a dangerously menaced America attacks lynchings in the South on a nationwide scale, we have no way of determining how many scores of colored southerners have already met death at the hands of Dixie's "Murder, Inc.," and of how many white southerners, including myself, are on the ring's "X" list. Many of what the kleagles joyfully celebrate as "nigger-killin's" are reported only in local papers of limited circulation. Some killings are not discovered until months after they are perpetrated. Countless victims simply "disappear" and are never seen again, so that their deaths cannot be proven. It has been my experience, however, from many years of trailing lynchers in almost every state of the South, that I always learn of two or three more unreported killings whenever I go out to investigate one piece of butchery that has leaked out in a two-paragraph story from some newspaper wire service.

But since January 1, 1945, at least sixty Negroes are known to have met violent deaths at the hands of whites in areas that are traditionally and militantly ku klux. Southern police officers were directly implicated in at least forty-one of these killings. Perhaps too significantly, some twenty of the forty-one police killings on record occurred in Atlanta, Ga., where the Klan has national headquarters, where at least thirty policemen are known to be Klan members and where the cyclops of the local den is a city officer.

In a majority of the remaining cases, the finger of suspicion points damningly toward police officers—either because of their family relation to people who would have had some personal interest in "taking it out" on a Negro or because of acts of bald collusion indicating "understandings" between lawless mobs and sworn guardians of the law. Deputy Sheriff Louis Howard of Walton County, Ga., an area branded as one of the major Klan strongholds back in the 1870's, has yet to explain what he was doing in the neighborhood of the lynchings just half an hour after the Monroe massacre on July 25. But he would be unable to alibi away his relation to Barney Hester, the landlord who Roger Malcolm, one of the lynch victims, was accused of stabbing. It is on record at the Walton County courthouse in Monroe that Louis Howard is married to Barney Hester's sister.

In Madison County, Fla., another ku klux stronghold, we see another example of a family dynasty sweating and butchering its black serfs through its blood ties with an officer of the law. If County Sheriff Lonnie Davis had what was coming to him, he and not the hard-working sharecropper, Jesse James Payne, would have ended life on a rope. For in this case, the sheriff was not only bound by family ties, but also by his personal gain from the sweat of a modest Florida citizen, to become a partner of a lynch mob.

Jesse James Payne, lynched in the Suwanee country immortalized by that lying song glorifying slavery written by Stephen Collins Foster, sharecropped tobacco for both Sheriff Davis and the sheriff's father, D. L. Goodwin. Both Davis and Goodwin are known to be sympathetic to the Klan if not actually members in this state where the Duponts share control with the citrus and other fabulously rich agricultural interests. Ku Klux Imperial Wizard James E. Colescott now lives in Miami where antisemitism is reaching a flood tide and where vandals, believed to be klansmen, have burned one Negro house after the other. Throughout

Press Association

Negroes parading through the streets of Washington, D. C., July 29, carrying placards protesting the Georgia mob murders.

North Florida, county officials like Sheriff Davis are first nominated at secret meetings by men whose first allegiance is to "the Invisible Empire" and then submitted to the voters in farcical elections for ratification. Influential Klansmen, who are always large landowners or prosperous business men, contrive, for obvious reasons, to get their friends or employees chosen as county officials by the klaverns.

The Klan pattern, in all of its economic and political implications, is perfectly illustrated by the example of Madison county. During the war, the U. S. Department of Agriculture was deeply anxious that more of the twenty three and a half million acres used for cotton and tobacco production in the South be diverted to the raising of food crops. Goodwin faced federal prosecution for fraud and the loss of government crop benefits if it became known that he had planted more than his allotment of tobacco. Payne needed money to feed his family and to buy medicine for his three-months old baby, and told Goodwin that he would have to turn over his share of the crop to the government unless he received a settlement.

The rest of the story is known to America. Payne was kidnapped by Goodwin's two sons, Robert and David, and turned over to their kinsman, Sheriff Davis, on a drummed-up charge of trying to ravish the five-year old daughter of the Sheriff's brother who, according to reports given me by Madison county Negroes, is a member of the Klan. The grand jury which later indicted Payne included the child's father and, so it is said, two or three men who have more than a passing interest in the extensive and growing operations of the Ku Klux order in North Florida. Were these men, believed to be active Klan functionaries, the leaders of the mob which later took Payne out of the jail left unguarded by Sheriff Davis? And what political pressure did the Klan, actively cooperating with the Florida Farm Bureau Federation, use upon politically ambitious Governor Millard F. Caldwell to make him refuse to remove Davis from office?

Here is the U. S. Rope and Faggot Record to Date

The following instances of mob violence have occurred against Negroes since January 1946. This list, however, is by no means complete.

JAMES WALKER, JR. shot to death at Elko, S. C., August 12.

SEVERAL NEGROES INJURED in rioting at Athens, Tenn., August 10.

JOHN C. JONES killed and mutilated after being burned with an acetylene torch at Minden, La., August 8.

JOHN GILBERT killed by white anti-union mob at Gordon, Ga., August 3.

J. C. FARMER shot to death by posse near Bailey, N. C., August 3.

LEON MCTATIE whipped to death near Lexington, Miss., July 31.

HARRISON JOHNSON shot to death near Eatonton, Ga., July 30.

NEGRO FARMER killed by deputy sheriff at Hattiesburg, Miss., July 28.

FOUR NEGROES (two women) lynched at Monroe, Ga., July 25.

ONLY NEGRO TO VOTE in district killed by mob in Taylor county, Ga., July 17.

ETOY FLETCHER whipped to death near Brandon, Miss., June 6.

FERGUSON BROTHERS killed by a policeman in Freeport, L. I., April 9.

GEORGE COLLINS killed by police in McAlester, Okla., April 7.

WILLIAM GORDON AND JAMES JOHNSON died en route to hospital after being shot under mysterious circumstances in Columbia, Tenn., jail February 28.

ISAAC WOODARD permanently blinded by policeman L. M. Shull at Batesburg, S. C., February 13.

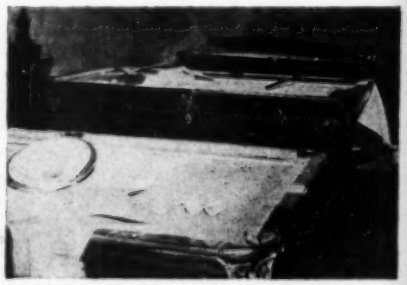
Economy of Grits and Fatback

The answer to that question may be found some day when the secret documents of the Klan are produced as evidence in a court of the people to hang Klan leaders and the members of Klan murder squads trying to fasten forever on the bent backs of the South's people the classic economy of grits and fatback. A clue to the eventual answer may be found in a statement made to me in Live Oak, Fla., last November, by State Attorney A. K. Black who told me this county of Suwanee was "the strongest Klan county in the state."

That was after a grand jury presided over by Landlord Barney Cheshire had no-billed Branford, Fla., Police Chief Tom Crews, Turpentine Operator Lloyd Cribbs, both alleged klansmen, and tough Army Sergeant James B. Barber, who was also in trouble for violating military discipline at Ft. Oglethorp, Ga., on charges of lynching Sam McFadden on October 29, 1944. The grand jury disregarded a signed confession made by Barber that he, Crews, and Cribbs had seized the father of eight children, with his wife expecting another, placed the victim in the policeman's car, driven him to a stretch of swampland, shot him, and then thrown his body into the Suwanee River. Suwanee and Madison are adjoining counties. Black is the prosecutor for both.

But the whole strategy of the new-style and generally legally sanctioned lynching of Dixie was mapped further back than the slaying of any given Negro in any given section of the South. That strategy can be traced back to secret meetings of Klansmen and operatives of the Nazi Party, functioning in this country through the outlawed German-American Bund, months after America had declared war on Hitler's outlaw state.

The information that I have on these meetings, held in Detroit and in an obscure New York suburb, comes from inside Klan sources which I have been able to tap. It is generally known that such meetings were held. It is commonly believed, and the Klan has never sued for libel to disapprove the accusation, that this indigenous storm trooper organization received a donation of $75,000 from Hitler through the pay-off agency of the German-American Bund. In return for this subsidy, so it is said, the Klan revamped its policies and replaced some of its leading personnel to suit the propaganda and agitation department of the international fascist coordinating organization in Berlin.



Wiles-Hood

Pool Tables slashed by the mob at Columbia, Tenn.

But it is not generally known what deliberations took place in those heavily guarded sessions or that the tone of the discussions was set by a man said to be an undercover Gestapo agent acting as a liason man between the National Socialist Party and the Bund. Later on, when the Russians captured Berlin, they found evidence from captured Nazi archives of close collabora-

tion between the Klan and German agents throughout the war. But the flirtation between the American fascist gang and the German fascist gang was an old affair long before the jointly owned American, British, and German cartels raised up Hitler to be the ruler of *Deutschland*. In the 1920's National Socialist agents sailed from Germany to Dixie. They were entertained with customary "Southern hospitality" by the Klan leaders who instructed them in the techniques of racial oppression and provocation which brought on World War II and which point dangerously to World War III.

So that these post-Pearl Harbor love feasts were actually reunions of old sweethearts. I can reveal exclusively in this magazine that two lines of operation for the postwar period were worked out by the American fascist chiefs and the German fascist agents at a series of cozy sessions held at a time when the FBI was too busy harassing labor organizers to run down and convict traitors.

Each "plan of work" envisioned the southern Negro as the first victim to be sacrificed in the building of an American *Volkstaat*. The goal in any case was to be the establishment of a powerful "nationalist" political party, managed by the Klan, recruiting members through nationwide racial agitation aimed both at Negroes and Jews.

The first plan was to set up roving storm trooper squads of dissatisfied veterans—particularly southern veterans—to provoke race riots, to stop Negroes from voting at the polls, and to break up trade union meetings of white and black workers. Thus far, this plan has been unsuccessful. When southern white ex-servicemen have made themselves heard in any organized fashion, it has been in the direction of a new South. The battle of Athens, Tenn., fought by veterans against a crooked political machine on August 1, was touched off when Deputy Sheriff "Windy" Wise shot an elderly Negro who was trying like the GI's to vote against the machine candidates. Tennessee papers noted, too, that an Athens Negro citizen sat in the front row of the public meeting called to set up a new local government after the thugs with stars on their chests had been chased out of McMinn county. In Tennessee Boss Crump's controlled and corrupt town of Memphis, local members of the American Veterans Committee met on election day and voted to admit Negro ex-servicemen on an equal basis in their organization. A strong inter-racial post of the AVC exists in jim-crow Baltimore where three Negroes have been shot down recently by policemen. And in Durham, N. C., the seat of the ultra reactionary Duke tobacco trust, one hundred white "vets" met recently with 200 who were colored to set up still another AVC chapter without color bars. Moreover, southern veterans of both colors are among the crack organizers in the present drive of the CIO to make Dixie union country instead of slave country.

Klan's Second Plan

But the second plan of the Ku Klux-Nazi murder conspiracy is working out to gory perfection. It was agreed between the representatives of the two organizations that special efforts should be made to enroll into the Klan southern peace officers. This meant that Negroes could be slaughtered in the program of wracking Dixie with race riots quiet, legally and without the Klan itself being prosecuted for murder. A Klan sheriff or constable could legally change a mob into a posse simply by ordering its members to raise their hands and take an oath as deputies. Control of the police by the Klan would moreover be a strong selling point for the hoodlum racket, both to landlords anxious to keep their supply of cheap labor from drifting up North or into the southern cities, and to the sweat shop industrialists making a new invasion of the South on promises of cheap help and plenty of it.

Later at the suggestion of J. B. Stoner, Chattanooga, Tenn., Klan leader and the particular ku klux faction which he heads, klansmen were instructed to enlist in the various state guards set up by the corrupt regimes of the Old South as so much insurance against revolts of the people during the post-war epoch. And, of course, the kluxers were particularly instructed to direct their fire against Negro veterans who might become the natural leaders of southern movements of protest.

How well this policy has worked can be seen in every issue of any Negro newspaper. Invariably on page one of whatever Negro paper that you may get, you will find a report of at least one killing of a colored American by a Dixie cop. In two out of three reported cases, the victim is a Negro veteran. In at least half of the cases, the policeman has used a deputized mob to get rid of his victim as was the case just a few weeks ago when Constable Bissette of Wilson, N. C., started a fight with twenty-year-old J. C. Farmer and then drummed up a gang to shoot the young Negro down. Farmer's offense: chatting pleasantly with a group of young Negro friends on a Sunday afternoon at the bus station.

All, every one, of the official Nazi excuses for killing a prisoner are being invoked by the police murder ring to justify the slaughter of Negroes. When Gestapo captors wanted to get rid of a man whom they were transporting to jail, they simply shot him down and wrote on the official records that he was "killed while trying to escape."

Now consider what happened to another twenty-year-old Negro boy, Charlie Lee Price, near Colquitt, Ga., in June of this year. Price, according to the story given out by Sheriff W. S. Tabb, was a "suspect" in the death of a fifty-year-old white woman, Mrs. Mae Gorman. A mob of the sheriff's friends gathered in this town where the Klan is no stranger. Sheriff Tabb "deputized" them and the mob of a dozen or more men piled in cars for Georgia's favorite sport: "nigger-huntin'." The boy was overtaken and placed in Tabb's auto. The Sheriff's official report says that he jumped out of the car and was then shot by the deputies.

A dozen more such reports, phrased in almost identically the same language, can be produced in court if a half-hearted federal government, which itself sets many patterns of discrimination, ever gets around to acting against the Klan and against all the subsidiary lynch bands affiliated with it. This article, written against the background of a life-time residence in the South, is intended not only as an exposé but as a call for action.

Down in Walton county, Georgia, four crosses carved into the barks of four trees after the lynch murder of two young couples are not only symbols of future mob slaying but of future crucifixions not only of the South's people but of our entire democratic political structure.

But the federal government is given every authority to intervene in the South and restore democracy. Our constitution imposes upon the administration at Washington the duty to guarantee to each state of the Union "a republican form of government."

I believe, as a white Southerner, that the time has come for our government to place large areas of the South under martial law and to try lynchers by summary military court proceedings since Dixie landlord and corporation dominated juries will not convict those who butcher their fellow men.

I'm in favor of keeping federal troops and plenty of them in the South until the Klan is exterminated and my native land learns the human decencies—even if it has to be taught at the end of bayonets.

Subscribe to The Crisis

Trusteeship: the New Imperialism

By George Padmore

HOW truly the aphorism "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose" —the more things change, the more they are the same—can be applied to the colonial question. During the war this question, which affects the destinies of the overwhelming majority of mankind, was relegated to the background of international affairs. Decent people did not concern themselves with such matters as "native affairs."

Reactionaries as well as progressives did everything possible to conceal from the common people of the world the fundamental social and economic nature of the conflict between the Fascist powers and the Democracies.

But now that the war is over, the real imperialistic designs of the conflict, masked behind anti-Fascist slogans, can no longer be concealed. For no sooner had Japan surrendered than the colonial masses of Southeast Asia, without asking the permission of their erstwhile European masters—Britain, France, and Holland—began to assert their right to national independence.

Anti-Fascist slogans, having served their purpose against the Fascist powers, were immediately discarded. And the Democracies joined forces with the Japanese in a bloody war of intervention against the natives of Indonesia and Indo-China. These down-trodden colored slaves, who for centuries have been carrying the "White Man's Burden," are fighting for the very principles of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" proclaimed in the preamble of the United Nations' Charter.

Today every imperialist power, great and small, realizes that something has to be done, and done quickly, to arrest this Asiatic awakening, which is the most significant historic event among the oppressed and exploited of the earth since the Russian Revolution. Truly a spectre is haunting the colonial ministries of Britain, France, and the Netherlands. The spectre of colonial revolution!

Even the stronghold of Tory reaction, the British Foreign Office, is beginning to recognize the close relationship between the colonial question and world peace and security and that to continue its traditional ostrich-like policy of ignoring "native affairs" might well lead to international friction which may prematurely involve the Great Powers in another war.

The European colonial powers do not contemplate any immediate liquidation of their empires. They are now adjusting the framework to the moral cant of the period.

The proposed solution to the colonial problem is the trusteeship system. What really is the difference between the old League of Nations mandates and the trusteeship system?

It is precisely because the Colonial Office experts realize that there is "no revolutionary change involved" that they have advised the Foreign Office to consent to the transfer of the League mandates to the new trusteeship, providing proper agreements are arranged whereby the Colonial Office will continue to administer the territories in question. This they will do in the name of the United Nations Trusteeship Council instead of the defunct League of Nations Mandates Commission. It is a purely technical transaction.

Let us look at the proposed new trusteeship system and see what is its real character. In actuality it is nothing more than a continuation of the mandates system inaugurated under the now defunct League of Nations, modified and refurbished to accommodate the conflicting ideologies of the Great Powers.

Masses Duped

During the First World War, the statesmen of the western powers duped the masses of people into believing that they were fighting for "democracy" and "self-determination," and that there would be no "annexations." These shibboleths were embodied in points 5 to 12 of the famous "fourteen points" of President Wilson, which were the basis of the armistice agreement. In order at one and the same time to swindle their dupes further and achieve their imperialist ends behind a democratic façade, the mandates system was evolved.

In the course of the war of 1914-18 the Allied Powers entered into certain secret undertakings to carve up the German and Ottoman Empires. As an inducement to betray Germany and to come in on the side of the Allies, Britain and France promised a share of the colonial spoils to the Italian imperialist, who, in the words of Bismarck, had "large appetites but such poor teeth." This particular bargain was never honored, on the grounds that the Italians at Caporetto had proved themselves rather a liability than an asset to Allied arms.

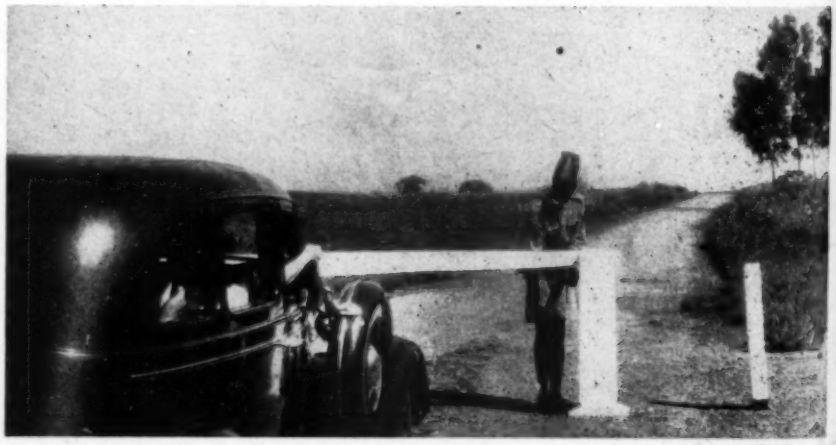


Photo Pasi

British border guard at the turnpike between the Belgian Congo and British Uganda.

British Combine

There is no lack of skill among Africans. Nigerians are shown here making a mat from palm leaves and midribs at Badoggi, near Bida. Fully 60,000 people are engaged in matmaking in Nigeria, one of the country's most flourishing crafts.

It was in seeking a device for sharing up the colonial swag without ostensibly contravening the Wilsonian declaration on "no annexation," that the wily Jan Christian Smuts came into the picture as rescuer. With the aid of the late Lord Lothian (at the time Mr. Philip Kerr and private secretary to Lloyd George), General Smuts drafted a plan for the League of Nations and outlined a formula which became the basis of the mandates system. His business was to give an ideological covering to the *Herrenvolk* doctrine implicit in his plan. But General Smuts, having had considerable experience in dealing with the native problem in South Africa was well versed to propound the theory that the inhabitants of territories in the possession of the defeated powers were barbarians and "unfit to stand by themselves in the strenuous conditions of the modern world."

This out-and-out Nazi racial doctrine was embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations under Article 22, and became the cornerstone of the mandates system. A struggle developed behind the scenes between the proponents of the old colonial system of annexation, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, and Wilson, representative of the school of new liberal imperialism. The old school won hands down. The naive idealism of the ex-college professor was no match for the realism of the two most nimble bourgeois politicians of their day, fighting tooth and nail to maintain a hard-dying Imperialism. Many of the amendments which Wilson had incorporated into the mandates provisions were twisted into ambiguities and whittled down by Smuts, while those that remained were "glossed over with brilliant rhetoric."

Thus 67,000 square miles of Turkish territory in the Middle East were divided between Britain and France, Britain securing Mesopotania (Iraq), Trans-Jordan and Palestine, while France came into possession of Syria and the Lebanon. These were "A" Mandates.

The "B" Mandates were located in Africa and were distributed as follows: German East Africa, now known as Tanganyika, and parts of the Cameroons and Togoland were secured by Britain, while the remaining sections of Germany's colonies in West Africa went to France. Ruanda Urundi (about 20,000 square miles of German East Africa) was allocated to Belgium as a sop for the devastation which that country had suffered. General Smuts having rendered yeoman service to the British imperialist cause in the campaign in Africa, and having helped Lloyd-George in putting the mandates system over on Wilson, South Africa was allowed to annex German South West Africa as a "C" Mandate. The other territories in this last category, situated in the Pacific, were divided among Australia, New Zealand and Japan, then Britain's ally. Australia got Nauru and New Guinea, New Zealand western Samoa, and Japan the Marianne, Caroline and Marshal islands.

Out of 971,377 square miles of German and Turkish territory shared out, the British and French Empires were enlarged to the extent of 671,867 square miles. Not so bad after all, considering that the war had been fought for "democracy" and "self-determination."

The Mandates Commission

The share-out having been effected, the League Council, dominated by Britain and France, set up a Mandates Commission, whose purpose was to supervise the carrying out of the terms of the mandates. This Mandates Commission was responsible solely to the League Council and not to the General Assembly. The "crudity of conquest was draped in the veil of morality," in the words of the historian H. A. L. Fisher, and the Mandatory Powers pledged themselves to operate their mandates on the humanitarian principle of "trusteeship." That is to say, they covenanted themselves not to exercise their imperialist propensities in their dealings with the inhabitants of mandated territories, and in the spirit of Christian missionaries "to promote to the utmost . . . the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants," and to prepare them for ultimate self-government.

Now that the Second World War is over and the question of the re-division of colonies is being discussed by the United Nations, the organization which has replaced the League of Nations, the statesmen are once again faced with the problem of finding some machinery for maintaining their imperialist system under a new disguise. The mandates system having served its intended purpose, it is now necessary to change its form, though not its substance. In place of the discredited term "mandates," "trusteeship," which was ostensibly the purpose of the League of Nations mandates, will now be enthroned as the idea of the system.

The idea of "trusteeship," however, is nothing new, historically speaking. In fact, it is an echo of the old formula of the Berlin Congress of 1885, at which the powers of Europe with interests in Africa solemnly declared "in the name of Almighty God" that in developing trade and civilization in certain regions of Africa they would set themselves the task of "furthering the material and moral well-being of the native populations." Similar declarations of "trusteeship" were also embodied in the Brussels Act of 1890, in which the high contracting parties, evoking the name of God, reiterated their pledge effect-

Alice Schalek from Three Lions

These African workers are salt carriers in British Uganda.

ively to protect the aboriginal populations of Africa and to ensure that vast continent the benefits of peace and civilization. What peace, what civilization have they brought to the Africans? The peace that makes their land a desert, the civilization that turns them into hewers of wood and drawers of water for their predatory masters.

The "trusteeship" formula came up once again in the Algeciras Act of 1906, which, in fact, first promulgated the mandates principle by obliging Britain, France, and Spain to submit annual reports to the powers signing that act, and to permit representatives from Switzerland to visit Morocco and investigate the carrying out of the terms of the Act. These stipulations, however, did not save the Moors from being annexed by the French imperialists. Even King Leopold, notorious in connection with the infamous Congo atrocities, declared to the gathering of eminent people he collected at a conference in Brussels in 1876 that "to open to civilization the only part of our globe where it has not yet penetrated, to pierce the darkness which envelops whole populations, is a crusade, if I may say so, a crusade worthy of this century of progress. And at once there was founded the National Association for the Exploitation and Civilization of Central Africa, which administered the Belgian Congo.

Hence all this talk about "trusteeship," which apologists for imperialism assert is the best safeguard of the interests of the so-called backward peoples, is sheer humbug. Have not British imperialist governments—Tory, Liberal, Labor—all repeated *ad nauseam* the doctrine of trusteeship for the subject peoples of the Empire? They have even declared "the paramountcy of native interests" to be their guiding principle where these interests come into conflict with those of the immigrant white settlers. But have these noble declarations saved the natives of Rhodesia and Kenya from despoliation? There are even some enlightened Tory imperialists like Lord Hailey, who, realising the need for some superficial concession to the native peoples' urgent insistence on reforms, generously go farther than "trusteeship" and put forward the doctrine of "partnership." This, however, the Colonial Office has not conceded for the moment. Perhaps it is being reserved for after the next (atomic) war? Imperialism, open or however it may be disguised, is imperialism, whether "mandates," "trusteeship," "partnership," or what else.

Smuts Enters

Under the proposed trusteeship system three categories of trust territories are being provided for, and here is a striking similarity to the old mandates. In fact, the hand of Smuts is clearly visible throughout. Even the same old phrases are used, for it seems that it is difficult to find news ones with which to hoodwink the colonials.

The United Nations Charter lays it down that members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for territories "whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government," will "recognize the

The royal palace of Kampala, capital of native

principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount." They accept "as a sacred trust" the obligation to promote the well-being of the inhabitants "to the utmost," (Ch. XI, Art. 73). To this end, they will ensure—with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned—"the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses." Here it is all over again. But let us see if there are any differences. We must remember that the trust power will continue to exercise sovereignty.

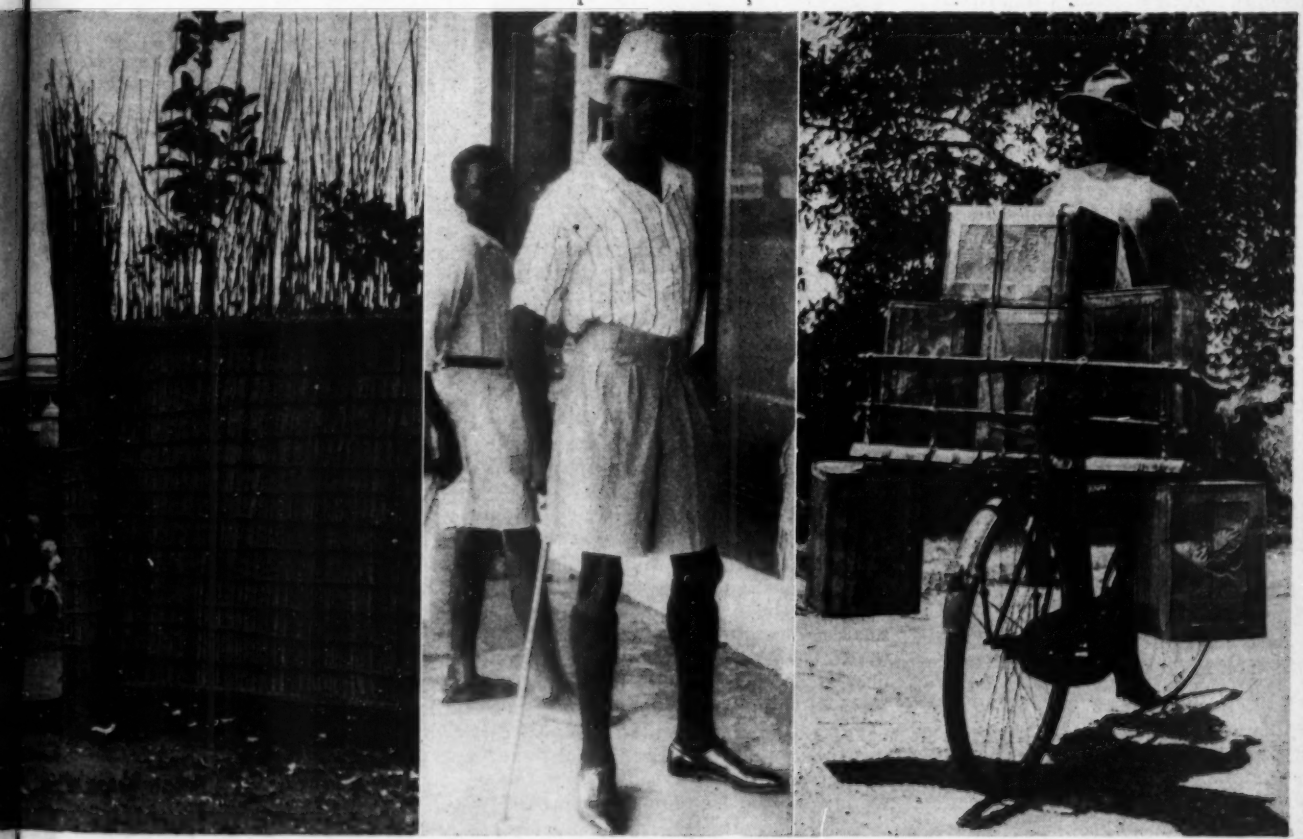
The composition of the Trusteeship Council is to be a little different from the Mandates Commission. The latter body was composed of persons specially qualified as experts who sat in an individual capacity, not as government representatives. Nationals of mandatory powers were in a minority. Membership on the Trusteeship Council will be equally divided between states administering trust territories and other states, and members will represent their respective governments. It is curious to note in this connection, that Mr. P. Orts, the Belgian representative on the Trusteeship Committee, was a member of the League of Nations Mandates Commission.

The Trusteeship Council, responsible to the General Assembly, will be able to provide for visits of inspection to trust territories. But these visits must be arranged for times agreed upon with the administering authority. Inspection was not provided for under the Mandates Commission.

One somewhat grim difference is noticeable in the provisions of the trusteeship council as against those of the mandates system. Under the system of mandates, the military training of natives was forbidden, except for police purposes and the defense of territory. The United Nations Charter, on the other hand, provides that the administering authorities may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from a trust territory in carrying out their obligations towards the Security Council, as well as for local defense and the maintenance of law and order in the trust territory. This provision obviously portends the military use on a larger scale than ever before of the inhabitants of the trust territories.

Withal, the differences do not seem to be very great, although the fact that the populations can send in petitions and that visits of inspection can be arranged, all at the convenience of the administering authority, is a small advance. But on fundamentals there is no change. When it was suggested by the American delegate, John Foster Dulles, that members of the United Nations responsible for non self-governing territories should aim at developing "independence" as an addition or alternative to self-government, he was stiffly opposed, in particular by the Belgian representative, who thought that the word "independence" would be to the native peoples like flaunting a red rag before a bull. The question of including the word "independence" was referred to a special sub-committee, together with a number of amendments, and a compromise formula of the trusteeship resolution has been worked out. It is interesting to note that in the course of the discussions the British delegate, Mr. Creech Jones, stated that

(*Continued on page* 318)



Alice Schalek from Three Lions, Photo Past, British Combine

and residence of the native king, who rules under a British protectorate. A dandy from Kampala, Uganda. A cyclist carring six fourgallon tins of palm oil, which is the load normally carried by bicycle-transport in South-East Nigeria.

The Negro Vote in 1946

By Henry Lee Moon

THE Negro's political potential is greater today than at any time since he became a positive factor in American politics. The area of his political influence, once largely confined to the great industrial cities in the East and North, has been expanded and extended by wartime migration into the Pacific states and into many of the smaller Midwest cities. And, significantly, he has reentered the political arena in the South.

Politicians of both major parties have long recognized the power of the Negro vote in the cities of such states as New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Missouri. Southern and western politicians have now joined their eastern and northern colleagues in seeking this vote. As important as was the Negro vote in the 1944 electionn—and without it Roosevelt could not have been re-elected—it can be even more decisive in the congressional elections this year and in the presidential campaign in 1948.

Usually in off-year elections, registration and voting decline sharply. Thus in 1942 the total vote amounted to 29,441,000 as compared to 49,815,000 in 1940, and 48,025,000 in 1944, presidental years. However, reports from all sections of the country indicate higher registrations than two years ago. In Georgia, enfranchisement of Negroes and the 18-year-olds and elimination of the poll tax resulted in doubling the registration which for the first time reached the million mark. Likewise in Texas, Florida, Alabama and other southern states registration reached an all time high. In Pennsylvania registration has been increased, with wards of Negro concentration participating in this expanded vote. Preliminary reports from other states reflect this trend.

Effectiveness of Vote

The effectiveness of the vote will depend upon the size of the registration and the clarity with which the issues of the campaign are presented. To attain the maximum registration requires the united effort of all the organizations within the community. It is not enough to depend upon the party machines, either Democratic or Republican. Every organization interested in Negro welfare has a responsibility to participate in the drive for full registration. While national organizations may be helpful, the real work must be done by grass roots groups at the community level.

This Year the Negro voter has an opportunity to make important contributions toward the election of a progressive Congress alert to needed social legislation

Acme

Representatives ROGER C. SLAUGHTER, *Democrat, from the fifth Missouri district "who used his strategic position on the powerful House rules committee to prevent FEPC from coming to a vote on the House floor." The Negroes of his district voted solidly against him.*

In the southern drive this spring and summer, local groups had the active support of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Council of Negro Women and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People whose Supreme Court victory in the Texas "white primary" case in 1944 opened the door to effective voting by Negroes through participation in the Democratic primaries in the southern states. Despite resistance to this decision in many localities and states, approximately 600,000 Negro citizens qualified to vote in the South. While the bulk of these are new voters, it should not be overlooked that Negroes have for many years participated in the Democratic primaries in Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee. If this drive is continued—and southern Negro leaders indicate that they will not be deterred by the victories of Talmadge and Bilbo—there should be a million Negro voters in the southern states in 1948.

CIO-PAC Analysis

The CIO-PAC has analyzed 100 marginal congressional districts—districts in which the successful candidate in 1944 could have been defeated by a shift of five per cent or less of the total vote. The study is confined to non-southern districts in which the candidates face real opposition in the general elections in November. Many districts in which the Negro vote is a vital, and sometimes dominant, factor have been excluded from this study because they were won by safe majorities. Accordingly, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit and certain other areas with concentrated Negro populations have been omitted.

The PAC study reveals that at least 23 congressmen who indicated opposition to the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission by their failure to sign the discharge petition can be retired by effective organization of the potential Negro vote in their respective districts. Thirty-six supporters of FEPC who were elected by narrow margins may likewise be retained in office through full mobilization of this vote. In each of these 58 districts, the potential Negro vote approximates or exceeds the margin by which the incumbent was elected in 1944. The potential vote figures, based upon the 1940 census, represent minimums inasmuch as the Negro population in many of these districts has been greatly increased and in some instances more than doubled by wartime migration.

In some districts, the incumbents won by alarmingly narrow margins. Representative Max Schwabe, Republican, of Missouri was elected by a margin of only 300 votes. The potential Negro voters in his district numbered 11,000. Schwabe was among those who failed to sign the FEPC petition. Upstate in New York's 44th District, Rep-

resentative John C. Butler, also a Republican, won by an even smaller margin—238. In his district which includes Lackawanna and parts of Buffalo were 2,600 Negroes of voting age. There were also 27,900 adult foreign born residents who likewise face employment discrimination. Belatedly, Butler signed the FEPC petition. Howard E. Campbell whose district includes part of Pittsburgh edged through the 1944 election with a plurality of 500. Nearly 12,000 potential Negro voters live in his district. Campbell, a Republican, failed to sign the FEPC petition.

In the primaries, in which the vote is usually light, an alert and well organized group can be most effective. Three northern and western foes of FEPC have already been eliminated in primary elections. Most spectacular was the defeat of Roger C. Slaughter, Democrat of Missouri, who had used his strategic position on the powerful House Rules Committee to prevent the FEPC bill from coming to a vote on the House floor. Representative Slaughter had been re-elected in 1944 by a margin of 5,193 in the general election. In his district lived 20,150 Negro citizens of voting age. Mobilized in a solid phalanx against this arch foe of FEPC, Negro voters in Kansas City were a decisive factor in defeating him in the August 6 primary.

The other eliminated anti-FEPC congressmen were Representatives Robert L. Rodgers of Pennsylvania and Thomas D. Winter of Kansas, both Republicans. Rodgers had won in the 1944 general election with a comfortable margin of 11,631. In the primaries that year he had a margin of 4,450 out of a total of 20,850 votes. Running this year in a field of three candidates, he placed second in the Republican primaries, being defeated by a margin of 1,627 votes. The potential Negro voters in his district, which includes the cities of Erie, Sharon and Meadville, number 3,250.

Mr. Winter, a four-termer, represents a rural district in southeastern Kansas. In the 1944 primary he polled double the vote of his opponent: 15,340 to 7,607. In the general election that year he won easily over the Democratic candidate. The vote was 52,361 to 34,645. This year in the Republican primary of August 6, Representative Winter was nosed out, losing by fewer than 1,000 votes: 13,209 to 12,255. The potential Negro vote in his district amounted to 3,200 in 1940.

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PERCY GREEN, *editor of the Jackson (Miss.) "Advocate," is one of the signers of a petition filed with the Senate campaign expenditures committee asking investigation of Senator Bilbo's recent primary campaign.*

FEPC Good Rule of Thumb

While FEPC is by no means the sole rod by which PAC measures the fitness of congressional candidates, it is one of the factors determining whether or not a candidate receives the support of CIO and other progressive forces. With Negro voters it is probably the most important consideration as it has become the symbol of the fight for equality of opportunity. Spokesmen for both parties promised support of this measure in 1944. They have failed to deliver. Negro citizens have seen their efforts to eliminate unfair employment practices sabotaged in the 79th Congress by a coalition of certain reactionary northern Republicans and poll-tax southern Democrats.

A number of congressmen, seemingly guided by considerations of expediency, signed the FEPC petition while voting consistantly against all other progressive measures. Representative Joseph E. Talbot of Connecticut, for instance, signed the petition but voted to cripple price control, to kill the full employment bill, against subsidies to provide housing for veterans, for continuance of the Rankin committee on so-called Un-American activities, and for the anti-labor Case and Hobbs Bills. Howard H. Buffett of Nebraska, Frank L. Sundstrom of New Jersey, William W. Blackney of Michigan, John W. Vorys of Ohio, Joseph W. Martin, Jr. of Massachusetts and a number of others had similar records.

There were also members of the 79th Congress who had good records in other respects, but who failed to sign the FEPC petition. Among these were Joe

Acme

Representative JOHN C. BUTLER, *Republican, from the 44th New York district was a belated signer of the FEPC petition.*

B. Bates and Emmet O'Neal of Kentucky, Harry R. Sheppard of California, A. S. J. Carnahan of Missouri and John W. McCormack of Massachusetts. The border state representatives with otherwise good records who refused to sign the petition were undoubtedly influenced by sectional considerations. However, representatives from West Virginia, also a border state, did express their approval of the measure by signing the petition. This may reflect a more politically alert and active Negro electorate in West Virginia than in Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma.

The Negro voter this year has an opportunity to make an important contribution toward the election of a progressive congress, one which will not only pass the FEPC bill but also such other legislation as the minimum wage bill, the national health bill, Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill, federal aid to education and other measures for the benefit of the whole American people. The possibilities are limited by our efforts to register every potential voter, to clarify the issues and to mobilize our maximum strength on election day. A successful drive for registration needs the full support of the church, the press, the trade unions, the business and professional associations, the social and civic organizations as well as the political organizations. No society is too small to participate in such a drive. No one is too busy to neglect this responsibility and opportunity. If we register and vote our maximum strength we can get from the 80th Congress enactment of the FEPC, anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills as well as other needed and helpful legislation.

See next page for "How Your Congressman Stood on FEPC."

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HOW YOUR CONGRESSMAN STOOD ON FEPC

MARGINAL CONGRESSMEN DECLINING TO SIGN FEPC PETITION

Name	Party	District	Potential Negro Vote As of 1940	Plurality 1944
Gillespie	Republican	Colo. 1	5,100	7,000
Bishop	Republican	Ill. 25	15,800	7,500
Scrivner	Republican	Kans. 2	18,300	21,000
O'Neal	Democrat	Ky. 3	36,000	20,000
Chelf	Democrat	Ky. 4	14,900	8,000
Spence	Democrat	Ky. 5	5,000	12,600
Chapman	Democrat	Ky. 6	27,600	19,200
May	Democrat	Ky. 7	4,800	3,300
Bates	Democrat	Ky. 8	5,100	7,800
Roe	Democrat	Md. 1	32,000	1,000
Baldwin	Democrat	Md. 2	30,500	23,800
Arnold	Republican	Mo. 1	5,000	1,600
Schwabe	Republican	Mo. 2	11,000	300
Cole	Republican	Mo. 3	3,600	1,500
Bell	Democrat	Mo. 4	7,400	15,200
Slaughter*	Democrat	Mo. 5	21,150	5,200
Carnahan	Democrat	Mo. 8	1,900	1,100
Cannon	Democrat	Mo. 9	5,400	6,000
Ploeser	Republican	Mo. 12	8,300	8,300
Schwabe	Republican	Okla. 1	15,700	3,000
Gross	Republican	Pa. 21	3,100	5,400
Graham	Republican	Pa. 25	5,700	1,100
Campbell	Republican	Pa. 29	11,300	500

* Eliminated in Primary Elections.

MARGINAL CONGRESSMEN WHO SIGNED FEPC PETITION

Name	Party	District	Potential Negro Vote As of 1940	Plurality 1944
Woodhouse	Democrat	Conn. 2	1,650	3,100
Geelan	Democrat	Conn. 3	4,300	4,700
Talbot	Republican	Conn. 5	3,400	5,250
Traynor	Democrat	Del. (at large)	23,000	1,300
Price	Democrat	Ill. 22	15,800	2,700
LaFollette*	Republican	Ind. 8	7,500	7,200
Ludlow	Democrat	Ind. 11	35,000	5,500
Beall	Republican	Md. 6	10,850	17,200
O'Brien	Democrat	Mich. 13	36,700	22,400
Starkey	Democrat	Minn. 4	3,000	4,500
Sullivan	Democrat	Mo. 11	58,400	20,900
Wolverton	Republican	N.J. 1	19,300	1,772
Hand	Republican	N.J. 2	18,150	8,300
Auchincloss	Republican	N.J. 3	11,460	20,000
Mathews	Republican	N.J. 4	13,560	13,967
Case	Republican	N.J. 6	12,800	18,750
Hartley	Republican	N.J. 10	10,000	8,500
Sundstrom	Republican	N.J. 11	27,150	6,000
Kean	Republican	N.J. 12	9,100	4,600
Bennett**	Republican	N.Y. 29	5,000	8,000
Elsaesser	Republican	N.Y. 43	2,600	3,100
Butler	Republican	N.Y. 44	2,600	238
Gardner	Democrat	Ohio 3	18,200	9,800
McCowen	Republican	Ohio 6	3,000	3,000
Brehm	Republican	Ohio 11	2,900	5,200
Vorys	Republican	Ohio 12	25,300	9,353
Huber	Democrat	Ohio 14	12,750	2,600
Thom	Democrat	Ohio 16	5,570	10,000
Lewis	Republican	Ohio 18	6,500	1,750
Corbett	Republican	Pa. 30	5,900	3,750
Neely	Democrat	W.Va. 1	27,700	1,000
Randolph	Democrat	W.Va. 2	6,500	9,000
Bailey	Democrat	W.Va. 3	9,570	5,400
Ellis	Republican	W.Va. 4	4,200	3,220
Hedrick	Democrat	W.Va. 6	20,700	23,900
Beimiller	Democrat	Wisc. 5	5,500	9,800

* Withdrew from race.
** Defeated in Primary Election.

REPORTS FROM NAACP STATE CONFERENCES

ALABAMA: The Alabama conference was held in Birmingham, Sunday, September 22, in the USO. Joint sessions were held with the state press association and the state's political leaders. Climax of the conference was a big mass meeting addressed by Gloster B. Current, director of branches.

The Alabama conference plans to set up a special branch organizing committee, and will also organize a political planning committee to "catolog" all the Negro politcal organizations in the state of Alabama, collect data on Negro voting on a county-by-county basis, and to determine the number of qualified and registered Negro voters in the state.

NEW JERSEY: Regular annual session of the New Jersey state conference was held September 28. The meeting was held in Trenton at the Carver Center, YMCA. At the open mass meeting on September 28, all candidates running for high political office were present and spoke.

WEST VIRGINIA: The conference was held in Parkersburg on Saturday and Sunday, September 28-29, at the Zion Baptist church. Some of the sessions were held at the Bethel AME church.

The conference took up the matter of segregation in state parks and at state fairs, racial tensions incited by politicians, and the matter of securing social rights through local and state civil rights statutes. The conference also stressed the necessity for passing a state FEPC bill.

Among the speakers were Madison S. Jones, administrative assistant, national office; W. N. Nelson, director of compensation; L. H. Richardson, Dr. R. A. Mead, Dr. M. A. Morrison, Forrest H. Lewis, Miss Gertrude Cain, A. L. Coleman, Mrs. Pearl Gill, E. L. Powell, Mrs. Emma Hamlar, Mrs. J. V. Wilkerson, T. L. Harris, Mrs. Geneva Webster, Raymond C. Ferguson, and D. W. Ambrose.

PENNSYLVANIA: Twelfth annual conference of the Pennsylvania branches and youth councils was held at New Castle on September 27-29. Mrs. Ruby Hurley, national youth secretary, spoke on "Complete Integration of the Negro into Community Life." Clarence Mitchell, labor secretary, spoke at the Sunday mass meeting.

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL CONFERENCE: The annual regional conference was held at New Britain, Conn., September 29. The conference adopted a plan of registration and voting. Gloster B. Current, director of branches, addressed the meeting.

(Turn to page 315 for the list of NAACP fall conferences)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

PETTIFOGGING LEGALISM?

COLUMBIA TRIAL: On July 5 a change of venue was granted the twenty-five defendants in the Columbia, Tennessee, "riot" case, and the trial opened in Lawrenceburg, county seat of Lawrence county, thirty miles south of Columbia, on August 13. But this change of venue has not solved the problem of obtaining a fair trial for the defendants. For the selection of an unbiased jury was still a problem even after the fifth week of the trial. By the time the trial had entered its fifth week in September only five jurors had been selected, and defense lawyers had already used up thirty-nine of their two hundred peremptory challenges.

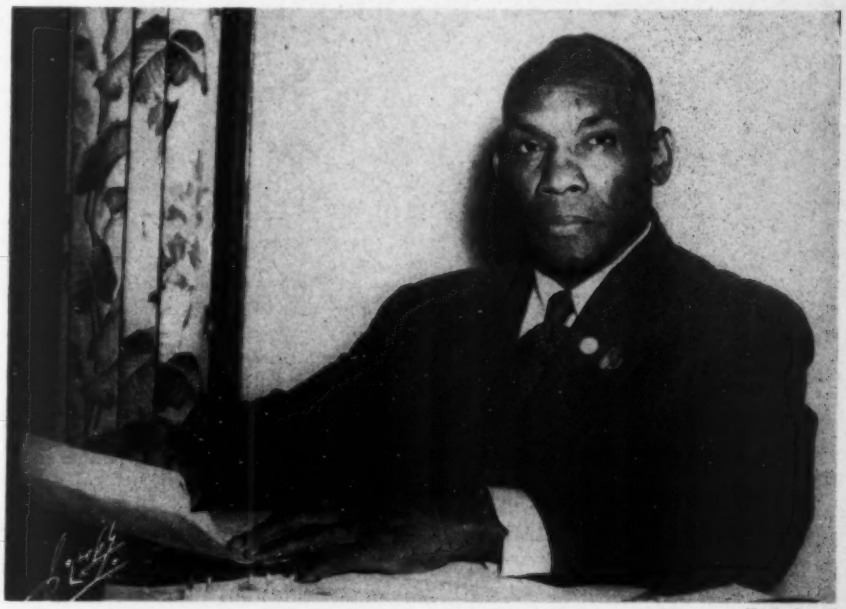
A total of 226 veniremen were questioned during the first three weeks, and the court excused 165 for cause. Thirty-three were challenged by the defense and eleven by the state.

Finally Judge Joe M. Ingram, on the ground that defense attorneys were wasting time, handed down the extraordinary ruling that he would address all questions of prejudice to prospective jurors from the bench. The result was that defense attorneys were required to submit all questions in writing, in advance, to Judge Ingram, who then conducted the examination of veniremen on the issues raised.

In effect, this meant that defense attorneys were denied the right to inquire into the race sentiments of prospective jurors. Though the NAACP lawyers objected strenuously to this procedure, they were overruled.

One of the five jurors selected, W. E. Staggs, a 64-year-old white farmer, openly admitted to the court his prejudice against Negroes. Stagg said he believed in separate types of justice for Negroes and whites, and added that he thought some of the principles of the Ku Klux Klan "very good."

Attempt of the defense to have Stagg rejected for cause was unsuccessful and he was accepted because his presence on the jury in case of conviction, could serve as a ground for a major reversible error and cause for retrial.



E. E. Joseph

BRANCH WORKERS—*The Alameda county branch is willing to wager that W. A. Deane (Top) is the nation's outstanding solicitor for contributions and memberships to the NAACP. Mr. Deane has solicited more than $2500 in contributions and memberships since January 1, 1946. Twelve hundred dollars was toward the financial drive for the establishment of the local branch office. The indefatigable Mr. Deane became a member of the NAACP in 1919 and has been active in the Alameda county branch since 1941. He is a member of the financial and membership committee. Bottom, members of the executive committee of the Riverhead, L. I., branch. Standing, L. to R., Mrs. Myrtle Skeete, Mrs. G. T. Tann, Mrs. Anna M. Holmes, Richard Robinson, Mrs. Rose Booker, Mrs. Nary Mayo, Jefferson Williams, Mrs. Lessie Finney, and Mrs. Louise Boyd, assistant secretary. Seated, L. to R., Percy S. Holmes, treasurer; Dr. Curtis T. Skeete, president; Henry L. Hobson, vice-president; and Harold H. Hicks, secretary. Mrs. Booker was chairman of the recent membership campaign in which more than 900 were enrolled.*

MOB VICTIM REDIVIVUS

BOY LEFT FOR DEAD: Seventeen-year-old Albert ("Sonny Man") Harris, Jr., left for dead by a Louisiana mob near Minden, La., on August 8, survived his brutal beating to escape to the North with his father.

Both Harris and his father were finally discovered after an intensive search by the Association through Louisiana, Texas, and the middlewestern states and brought to the national office from a western city by Madison Jones, administrative assistant. Soon after the Harrises arrived in New York their testimony was made available to the FBI.

Young Harris named Sam Mettrick, Sr., of Cotton Valley, La., as the ring-

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE *of the Fort Smith, Ark., branch. Seated, L. to R., Theodore Rutledge, S. R. Rutledge, S. W. West, Miss Mary J. Lewis, Mrs. Mary Bean, and Mrs. Ora W. Pegues. Standing, L. to R., Rev. S. King, Mrs. Clara Oliver, William Jones, Mrs. Ruth Massey, Dr. E. A. Connard, and Rev. E. R. Jacobs. Not shown are Mrs. M. E. Cox, Mrs. Lucile Phillip, Mrs. Lucinda Parker, and Rev. J. P. Mitchner. This branch also enrolls several city officials: Mayor Jack Pace, Chief of Police Pink Shaw, K. Rodgers, manager Twin City Coach Co., and many CIO officials.*

leader of the mob that lynched Harris' cousin, John C. Jones, and beat him into insensibility.

On July 31 "Sonny Man" Harris was arrested for complicity in a rape allegedly committed by his cousin Jones on the wife of Sam Mettrick, Jr. Jones, a twenty-eight-year-old war veteran, was accused of the rape and young Harris charged with watching. Sheriff Charlie Edwards kept Harris in jail for two days in an effort to make the boy confess. The sheriff claimed that Harris had seen Jones enter Mettrick's house while Harris was acting as lookout, but Harris refused to confess to this lie and he was finally released.

On his way home, which is about eighteen miles from the Minden jail, Harris was waylaid by a gang of whites, tossed into a car, driven down the road to a clump of bushes and beaten. Then the gang returned him to within a half mile of his home, where he was released and told to keep his mouth shut about what had happened. Sam Mettrick, Sr., led this gang.

His father then took him for safekeeping to stay with friends in Texas. When the father returned, he was confronted by sheriff Edwards and other armed men who demanded the boy's whereabouts. They beat and threatened the father and finally forced him to tell where his son was and to promise to bring him back home. On August 4, the day young Harris returned to Cotton Valley, he and his cousin Jones were rearrested and placed in the Minden jail. Both men denied the charges against them and the woman involved failed to prosecute.

On the evening of August 8 as they were leaving the jail they were set upon by a mob of whites, who bound and drove them about fifteen miles out from Minden. Harris says the men did very little talking, but that when they got out of the car they told him they were going to beat him up, and that they ought to kill him.

He was dragged from the car and stretched out on the ground on his stomach while men held his head and feet so that he could not move. He was then beaten with a strap about three inches wide. All the time they were beating him the men kept asking Harris if Jones wasn't in that woman's yard. When he would deny that Jones had ever been in her yard, they would tell him he was lying and beat him some more. Young Harris does not know how long he was beaten, but at the end one of the men hit him over the head with the butt of a "forty-five" and left him for dead. The half-healed, ugly gash is still over his left eye, and his wrists and ankles are till scarred from the grass rope used to tie him.

When Harris came back to life, he went to the other side of the creek where the mob had taken his cousin. Jones was still alive, but had been beaten and mutilated, and burned with an acetylene torch. He asked for a drink of water. So Harris crawled to the creek, took off one of his shoes, scooped it full of water, and brought it to him. Jones died a few minutes after drinking the water.

Harris wandered back to the main highway and by luck found his way back to town. His father then took him to friends who suggested that both men get in touch with the NAACP. The Association considers Albert Harris, Jr., one of the most valuable witnesses it has ever found in its many years of fighting southern lynch mobs. For young Harris can positively identify members of the mob that lynched his cousin Jones and beat him within an inch of his life.

Leased-oil-land rights might have been the motive for the lynching of Jones and the frustrated lynching of his cousin Harris. Jones was a grandson of a man who formerly owned oil land. Soon after oil was discovered on the property of his grandfather, the wells were leased to an oil syndicate. Since the old man could neither read nor write, it is probable that he was swindled; for though one large well produces thousands of barrels of oil, the old man receives only $1.50 a month in royalties. Lynching of the grandson would naturally forestall investigation and possible suit.

The efforts of the Louisiana authorities to mislead newsmen give credence to this motive, for most of the press stories of the lynching played up the finding of pictures of nude white women in one of the dead veteran's pockets. Some stories said they were pornographic and implied they may have been a motive for the lynching. But if any "nudes" were found on Jones, they had been "planted"; since both Jones and Harris had been thoroughly searched by the police during their stay in jail; and when they were released they stepped almost literally into the waiting arms of the mob. In fact, it was a strange coincidence that the mob should have known exactly when Harris and Jones were going to be released. Harris says that sheriff Haynes even helped to force Jones into one of the waiting cars.

The NAACP has already made plans for settling the Harris family in a middlewestern community where they will

Blakeley Studio

WINNING DIVISION AND LOCAL PANCAS *of the St. Louis, Mo., branch. Mrs. Fannie Pitts and Ruth M. Wheeler were division leaders of the group at top. Bottom group, Local Pancas.*

be safe from retaliation. For obvious reasons their present whereabouts are a closely guarded secret.

WERE THEY LYNCHINGS?

TEXAS THIS TIME: In August investigators in Marshall, Texas, reported to the national office what they believed to be two new lynchings. The Texas police, however, have dubbed the homicides isolated murders and have refused to cooperate. The two victims, both war veterans, are Richard F. Gordon, thirty-one, and Alonza Brooks, twenty-five.

According to the police, Gordon met death at the hands of a hit-and-run driver. But one of the persons who saw his body lying in the road before it was taken to the morgue stated that Gordon's throat had been cut from ear to ear, undoubtedly by a knife, and that his head and body were horribly bruised. The trail in the road leading up to the body gave evidence that the cadaver had been dragged through the streets at the rear of an automobile. Neighborhood residents in the neighborhood said they had been aroused earlier in the morning by two automobiles of whites, who were making a great deal of noise. Since these white men remained on the scene until the police arrived, it is believed that the lynchers and police were conspirators.

Gordon had been questioned by the police several days before his death on a charge of stealing his wealthy white employer's whiskey. Though he denied knowledge of the theft, he lost his job; but two days later he was rehired by the same employer. He was killed at dawn the next morning.

Brook's death is even more mysterious. He was found in the woods near Marshall three day after he had left home in his car to visit friends. He had no known enemies, yet his autopsy revealed the cause of death as resulting from blows on the nape of the neck and from strangling. Obviously the motive was not robbery, since his wallet and wrist watch were still on his person when the body was found.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS

ANTI-MOB VIOLENCE: Arthur B. Spingarn, chairman of the executive committee of the newly formed committee against mob violence, called a meeting of his group in New York in August to map plans for fighting the increasing acts of mob violence against Negroes. Among the prominent members of this committee are Philip Murray, president CIO; Charles G. Bolte, chairman, American Veterans Committee; Edward L. Bernays, public relations consultant; Clyde Miller, Teachers College; Max Yergan, National Negro Congress; Mrs. Alfred E. Mudge, National Board, YWCA; Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, Broadway Tabernacle; and Walter White, executive secretary, NAACP.

POLITICAL ACTION: On August 29 the committee on political action authorized by the Cincinnati conference met in New York to outline a program for greater participation of the Association in political activity. Present at the meeting were Joseph H. Rainey, Philadelphia; Dr. Channing T. Tobias, Palmer Weber, and Arthur Spingarn, chairman, New York; Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, Baltimore; and David M. Grant, St. Louis.

MISCELLANEOUS

ISAAC WOODWARD FUND: The trust fund set up by the NAACP through arrangement with Isaac Woodward, and in his name, continues to grow. Contributions to the fund are kept separate for Woodward's personal use in the future. Present donations total $3,912.57.

LIFE MEMBERSKIP: The Roanake Virginia, branch has taken out a $500 life membership in the Association. Justine K. Spencer, chairman of the membership committee of the branch, brought the check to the national office on August 22.

WHITE SAVED INNOCENT LIVES: The prompt action of Walter White in urging Lieutenant-governor Field Wright of Mississippi to use his power to prevent the threatened lynchings during the recent fracas in Smith county, Mississippi, is credited with saving many lives. The trouble in Smith county grew out of a feud among whites over labor conditions, and Negroes were actually not involved as the press has stated.

GREENWICH VILLAGE HOODLUMS: Police commissioner Arthur W. Wallender of New York, in reply to NAACP protests, promises that his department will investigate the recent cases of attacks upon Negroes by white hoodlums of the Greenwich Village area.

What The Branches Are Doing

CALIFORNIA: In July the members of the SAN FRANCISCO branch and other organizations sponsored a silent protest demonstration in that city against the recent Georgia lynchings and other acts of violence against Negroes. Members of the San Francisco Ministerial Alliance drew up a petition to the President of the United States and Congress asking immediate passage of anti-lynch legislation and other measures to bring an end to lawlessness and acts of violence against Negroes in southern states.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Reports on the membership campaign of the DISTRICT branch reveal a total of 7,076 memberships brought in and a total of $10,724.63 collected. There were more than five hundred field workers in the campaign and they have indicated their intention to continue bringing in members throughout the year.

Division A, headed by Mrs. Alma Scurlock, brought in 3,829 members and $4,857.65. Division B, headed by Frank B. Reeves, brought in 2,961 members and $4,059.48. The team with the highest standing was the 19th Street Baptist church team, in the church section, captained by Ella Bannister, which brought in 729 members and $1,039.00. The ranking individual worker was also in the church section, Eunice Johnson, who brought in 327 members and $405.50. The branch also received $1,087.50 in miscellaneous and special gifts.

The recent opening of branch headquarters in the North Carolina Mutual building at 11th and You streets marks the first step in the enlargement of a program in keeping with the growth of branch membership. In view of the increasing concern for the status of the Negro and the protection of his civil rights, the executive committee has decided that the second step will be the hiring of an executive secretary, a clerk-stenographer, and a clerk-typist.

The branch has also launched an investigation of the charges of discrimination placed against a Greyhound bus driver by Thomas R. Ellerbe, Jr., fifteen-year-old son of NAACP campaign worker, Thomas R. Ellerbe.

According to young Ellerbe's statement, on August 7, 1946, about 6 P. M., he boarded a Greyhound bus at the terminal in Washington, D. C., en route to Camp Lichtman, Virginia. After the driver, E. E. Delander, had taken his ticket, he ordered Ellerbe to go to the back of the bus. But aware of the recent decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in interstate travel, young Ellerbe refused to take the rear seat. Whereupon the bus driver is reported to have said: "I don't argue. You are not riding on this bus unless you ride in the back." The driver then returned young Ellerbe his ticket and ordered him off the bus. The youth says this is the second time that Delander has ordered him to the rear of the bus. The first time was in Alexandria, Va., two weeks previously.

The case of Miss Olive Webb, who was brutally beaten on July 15 by a policeman in plain clothes, has been appealed to the foreman of the grand jury. In the event that no action is taken by the grand jury, the branch is prepared to lay the matter before the office of the attorney general of the United States.

In response to an emergency call, branch members and their friends met at the John Wesley AME Zion church on August 11 to map out a program of action to stem the rising tide of lynchings and mob violence now sweeping the country.

On August 25 the Travis Sports League featured a double-header soft ball game at the New York Avenue stadium for the benefit of the branch.

GEORGIA: Dr. Ralph Mark Gilbert of the SAVANNAH branch sent telegrams of protest against the Monroe, Ga., lynchings to President Truman, congressman-elect Prince Preston of Georgia, governor Ellis Arnall, U. S. attorney general Eugene Cook of Atlanta, and senator Walter F. George. A letter of protest was also mailed to the editor of the Savannah *Morning News*.

NEW JERSEY: Following the lead of the ATLANTIC CITY branch, Mayor Altman of that city sponsored a day of mourning for the four victims of the Monroe, Ga., lynching. The branch conducted a memorial service for the lynched victims.

NEW YORK: Fred H. M. Turner, president of the BROOKLYN branch, has announced the promotion of Miss Ruth Early, former field secretary, to the position of executive secretary. Miss

DeWitt

A BUS LOAD OF MEMBERS *of the White Plains, N. Y., en route to a mass meeting held for the Tennessee riot fund. The branch pledged $100.*

Early is a native of Atlanta, Ga., and attended Booker T. Washington high school of that city and Spelman college.

Since the branch opened its full-time office to the public in February, it has handled over 500 legal cases and added 3,000 new members.

In August the Association received the following letter from Betty Campbell, secretary to A. J. Muste:

"Gentlemen: Recently we received a letter from one of our members [The Fellowship of Reconciliation] in Texas —Mr. Fremont B. Johnson, Good-Will Tours, Main Hotel, Laredo, Texas—in which he made the following suggestion:

" 'A tourist court owner here in Laredo was telling me that she had turned away a colored woman who had been teaching several years in Mexico. She said she had been driving all day and needed to rest, and wondered where she could stay. The court owner said that was not her problem. It occured to me that colored people would not be admitted to any of the courts, and it might be difficult for them to find a decent place to stay here. As I said, my little house is not very fancy, but colored people or anyone else are welcome to make use of it, and would be as welcome if it were better. You may if you wish pass this invitation on to the NAACP, whose address I do not have.' "

A democratic oasis in the vast Sahara of Texas segregation! Negro tourists in that section should avail themselves of Fremont B. Johnson's democratic hospitality.

MICHIGAN: The American Jewish Congress will file a brief amicus curiae (a friend of the court) in support of the DETROIT branch restrictive covenant cases.

Other organizations asked to file briefs in support of branch contentions that racial restrictive covenants are undemocratic and void as against public policy are the National Bar Association, Detroit chapter of the National Lawyer's Guild, Wolverine Bar Association, Jewish Community Council, Citizens Housing and Planning Council, City of Detroit Interracial Committee, Civil Rights Congress, Catholic Interracial Council, and the United Automobile Workers, CIO. Four cases on covenants are up for hearing at the October term of the Michigan Supreme Court.

After making two trips from Chicago and an extra trip from New York to be present in hearings on a case of civil rights violation, Jasper Ross, former captain in the U. S. Army, heard an all-white jury of eleven women and one man, find the proprietor of Mack's restaurant, located at 4460 Grand River, "not guilty."

CAMPAIGN WORKERS *of the Waterloo, Iowa, branch.*

The case was heard before Recorder's Judge John J. Maher. Attorney Edward M. Turner, vice-president of the branch, sat in and assisted the prosecutor.

Ross, in company with Mrs. Isabell Tepper, was enroute to the Joe Louis fight on June 18, when he was discriminated against in the restaurant by the proprietor who refused to serve the couple two cups of coffee. Ross and Mrs. Tepper testified that Emmet McElroy, part owner of the establishment, told them that he did not serve colored people. Mrs. Tepper called the police and in the presence of the officers, the proprietor again refused service, stating that he could only serve his regular customers.

In view of the increasing number of civil rights cases coming to the attention of the branch, the executive secretary again outlines the procedure to be followed by wronged persons who wish to secure their rights under the law. These steps are as follows: (1) If refused service, ask to see the manager. Ask to be served something which is in stock or in sight, such as coffee, pie, etc. (2) If you have no witness, call the police. In placing the call, tell the precinct station to which you are referred that you wish to report a case of violation of the civil rights law and that you wish the officers to come out and witness the case. (3) In the presence of the officers, again place your order. If refused this time, take the officer's name and number and ask that he secure the name and address and other pertinent information about the proprietor as you intend to file a criminal suit and seek a warrant. (4) Go to the precinct station in which the violation occurred with your witnesses and talk to the detectives. Tell the detectives that you wish to swear out a warrant for violation of the civil rights law. They will take your statement, probably tell you to come back after they have interviewed the proprietor. (5) Be polite at all times. Avoid creating an disturbance either in the establishment refusing service or the police station. (6) When your case has been referred to the prosecutor's office, call the branch, RA 6262.

Membership campaign of the branch continued through August. On July 29 Panca awards were made to 86 outstanding solicitors in the membership campaign. In order to qualify for the Panca certificate, branch workers had to bring in at least fifty members.

OHIO: The COLUMBUS branch during the months of June and July made contributions to the following organizations, all fighting for the same causes as the NAACP: Columbus Council for Democracy, People's Housing Council, Local Restrictive Covenants Fight, Terror in Tennessee Committee, and the Southern Committee on Human Welfare. During the membership campaign, the branch secured 98 memberships from the Lockbourne Army Air Base, mostly of enlisted personnel.

The branch has sponsored the civil rights suit of La France Edwards, who was refused service in a place known as "Pop's restaurant." Though located in a colored neighborhood, Negroes must take their food outside to eat it.

Copies of *A Guide to Race Relations for Police Officers* have been placed by the branch in the city police department, the offices of the Franklin county sheriff and the state highway patrol.

In CLEVELAND the branch sent telegrams of protest against the Georgia

YOUTH COUNCIL *members, Roanoke, Virginia.*

YOUTH COUNCIL *members, Des Moines, Iowa.*

lynching to President Truman, Attorney General Tom Clark, Governor Arnall, Major Spence, and J. Edgar Hoover urging immediate action for the apprehension and prosecution of the members of the mob.

When four colored dentists of Cleveland accepted invitations of the Cleveland Dental Society to attend its annual golf tournament and dinner, they were informed that they could not attend because of their race. The refusal was reported to the branch, which immediately set to work to fight the discriminatory practices of the Dental Society. The fight was successful and all four dentists—Dr. James E. Levy, Dr. Q. Montgomery, Dr. A. M. Gibson and Dr. Herbert Wallace—attended the affair without encountering discrimination or any untoward events.

PENNSYLVANIA: Additional attention has been focused on the efforts of the PHILADELPHIA branch in behalf of service men serving army prison sentences by receipt of a letter, forwarded by the mother of a service man, whose term was reduced from ten to three-and-a-half years after intervention by the local branch. The letter was written by Mrs. Viola Hamiter Proctor to Clifford Moore of the veterans' committee of the branch.

Working in cooperation with the Washington bureau of the NAACP, the Philadelphia branch has sent out questionnaires to all local candidates for Congress as well as to the senatorial candidates running in the fall elections. If properly answered, the questionnaire will reveal the position of the candidate on economic, political, and racial legislation. The answers will be compiled to serve as a guide to voters in selecting congressional candidates who will really work for social betterment.

"On the Beam" With Youth Councils

ANNUAL YOUTH CONFERENCE: The New Orleans, La., youth council is making extensive preparations to entertain delegates from NAACP youth councils and college chapters at the eighth annual Youth Conference to be held in that city November 21-24.

Registration will begin on Wednesday afternoon November 20 and the conference will go into organization Thursday morning.

Judge Hubert T. Delany of New York City will deliver the keynote address from the subject "Freedom from Terror" at the opening mass meeting in the Booker T. Washington auditorium, Thursday night, November 21.

Work sessions on Friday and Saturday will be devoted to discussions of "A Bill of Rights for Youth," "Taxation Without Representation," and "Planning a Course of Action."

Delegates' credentials may be secured by writing to the Youth Secretary, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

SIXTEEN YOUTH GROUPS CHARTERED IN SEPTEMBER: The board of directors approved applications and granted charters to youth councils in Santa Monica, Calif.; Elko, S. C.; East Chicago, Ind.; Columbus, Ga.; Saginaw, Mich.; Portland, Oregon; Halifax county, Va.; Roanoke, Va.; Ossining, N. Y.; Marin City, Calif.; Montecillo, Ark.; Monrovia, Calif.; Waycross, Ga.; Chambersburg, Pa.; Holland, Va.; and Bucknell university, Lewisburg, Pa., the latter a college chapter. These bring the total number of youth councils up to two hundred and eighty-four, with forty-three college chapters.

ROANOKE, VA., YOUTH COUNCIL: The youth council was organized June 26, 1946, with twenty-nine charter members, with the following persons elected to office: Kenneth Whitlock, president; Richard Meadows, vice-president; Maxine Nicholas, secretary; Irene Long, assistant secretary; and Ralph Hackley, treasurer.

Objectives adopted by the council are: to encourage participation of young people in activities pursuant to carrying out the aims of the NAACP;

CAMPAIGN WORKERS *of the Kansas City, Mo., branch: David Phelps, Mrs. Clara F. Miller, and Carl R. Johnson.*

to develop personal interest in the problems affecting the Negro in America; to provide leadership training for those on whose shoulders will fall the responsibility of making democracy work; and to cooperate in carrying out the program of the branch.

Book Reviews

COLONIAL LATINS AND RURAL BRAZILIANS

***Latin-American Civilization: Colonial Period.* By Bailey W. Diffie, with the assistance of Justine Whitfield Diffie. Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Sons, 1945. 812pp. $4.50.**

***Brazil: People and Institutions.* By T. Lynn Smith. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946. XXIV+843pp. $6.40.**

Dr. Diffie's book is a work of remarkable synthesis and wide learning, covering as it does the three hundred years between the conquest and independence and weaving into a coherent whole all the revelant material from the disciplines of economics, sociology, anthropology, politics, and culture. He strikes a judicious balance between the many multiple and conflicting interpretations of the facets of colonial life, and manages to steer a middle course between the "black legend" of Spanish barbarism and the "golden legend" of Castilian knight errantry.

Colonial institutions were a fusion of the heritage of European, Indian, and Negro. Specific struggles in Latin-America were for land, even during the pre-conquest period; therefore, the land and its fruits "furnish the best single key to the interpretation of Latin America." Much stress has been placed on the amount of gold and silver booty which the Spaniards are supposed to have looted from the Indians, but this amount was really small in comparison with what the Spaniards mined themselves. Spanish handicraft techniques were immeasurably superior to those of the Indians and increased enormously the post-conquest productive capacity.

The Indians were not plaster saints and the majority of them lived miserable lives ground under the heels of the plutocrats at the top. Though deserving censure for many faults, the church is entitled to a large share of credit for developing Latin America. Dr. Diffie also concludes that the pre-conquest estimates of population in America have been greatly exaggerated, and that even the supposedly heavily populated regions of the Inca empire and the Aztec confederation never had the millions in population assigned them.

There are likewise searching analyses of agriculture, manufacture and trade, education, and cultural contributions. A concluding section is devoted to colonial Brazil. There are faults in the book, as when the author confuses Indian rank with European class and tribal possessions with feudal ownership, but they are few. Due credit is given to the contributions of the Negro and his tremendous influence upon colonial life. A book like this, with its almost encyclopedic information, is of immense value to every student of Latin America.

In *Brazil: People and Institutions* Dr. Smith has written another ponderous study in rural sociology. One can't imagine a general reader consulting the book except for reference. There are detailed examinations of racial composition, fertility, mortality, immigration, standards of living, settlement patterns, land divisions, land tenure, marriage and the family, education and the school, and religious and governmental institutions. There are copious tables and a staggering array of statistical records, but these latter are of past centuries and not always useful for the present.

Dr. Smith approaches Brazilian social problems through the twenty-seven "unfavorable realities" of Teixeira de Freitas, which range from "excessive dispersion of the population," "outbreaks of banditry," "lack of medical and pharmaceutic assistance," through "deficient means of communication and transportation," "illiteracy" and "gambling," to "deficient selection, discipline, stimulus and remuneration for the general body of public servants." Though our author shies away from generalizations, preferring to let the facts speak for themselves, he does offer seven pages of suggestive conclusions. If Brazil is to be truly the land of the future, he concludes, she must overcome her cultural lag, control infectious diseases, reform her landholding and tenure systems, and make needed changes in immigration and hygienic policies.

The author tends to minimize the Negro heritage and to stress the contributions of the Indian. And reading between the lines the careful reader remarks the typical American disapproval of Negro-white miscegenation, and omission of the psychological motives for Brazilian racial tolerance. Nor does he mention the fact that the Portuguese either exterminated the coastal Indians or drove them inland.

Chief faults of the book are omission of the urban population, too little discussion of education, use of old statistical records, and too much emphasis on minutae. It is strange, too, that a book which discusses rural Brazil makes no mention of Dr. Benjamin Hunnicutt, the great agricultural pioneer; nor any reference to the Rockefeller mission in its fight on hookworm. Yet Dr. Smith must be credited with a useful, fact-filled study of the people of South America's largest nation.

IN BRIEF

***A Negro's Faith in America.* By Spencer Logan. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1946. VII+88pp. $1.75.**

The autobiography of a much muddled mind, in which the author reveals himself as the true heir to Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom. It is an attempt, filled with half-truths, gross errors, and blatant misinterpretations, to justify the ways of white folks to Negroes. Mulattoes are malicious, selfish, and unstable. Negro leaders are Machiavellians, and Negro newspapers sensation-mongers. He is as much opposed to

NAACP FALL CONFERENCES

November 2-3: Virginia State Conference, Richmond, Va.

November 6-8: Oklahoma State Conference, Oklahoma City.

November 7-10: Louisiana-Texas Leadership Training Conference, Shreveport, La.

November 9-10: Georgia State Conference, Columbus, Ga.

DO NOT FORGET

The 8th Annual

YOUTH CONFERENCE

of the NAACP

♦

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

November 21-24

social equality as Talmadge, and professes to believe that Negro males prefer to mate with darker women because the latter are more stable in character. After you have read this book, you know why the white folks gave it the centenary award for the best nonfiction written by a member of the armed forces, but you will still wonder how Mr. Logan got that way.

Blood in the Streets: The Life and Rule of Trujillo. **By Albert C. Hicks. New York: Creative Age Press, Inc., 1946. XXIV+230pp. $2.75.**

A non-authorized biography, as you would imagine, of the Dominican cattle thief, murderer, and forger now dubbed the Benefactor of the Fatherland. The title, of course, is self-bestowed. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina is no longer president of his country, now that he is the self-proclaimed Generalissimo, but he still runs his bailiwick pretty much as Al Capone ran his Chicago rackets. In 1937 he was responsible for the mass murder of 15,000 Haitians on the Haitian frontier, and, according to the author, he has slaughtered so many of his opponents and enemies that it is no longer news. First given power by our occupying Marines, Trujillo, through subsequent military coups and trickery, finally made himself complete master of his unhappy little country. A megalomaniac, Trujillo even had the audacity to place a large sign "Dios y Trujillo" (God and Trujillo) above the palace of his vice-president. Though a mulatto himself, he despises Negroes and tries to whiten his dusky people by importing European refugees. He apparently lacks both the intelligence and finesse of one of his most spectacular predecessors in the dictator's seat, Ulises Hereaux. The book lacks documentation, and the material is poorly organized.

Sense and Nonsense About Race. **By Ethel J. Alpenfels. New York: Friendship Press, 1946. 46pp. 25¢.**

Here in compact form are the scientific answers to American racial nonsense. In simple language, with drawings by Louise Jefferson, the author explains the problem of race in relation to culture, language, religion, and nationality, and offers sensible answers to the silly questions which most people ask about race and racism. She presents no cheery solutions, but she does give a reasonable analysis of racial problems. Though Miss Alpenfels attacks most racial bugaboos boldly, she is typically American in her shying away from the inflammable subject of intermarriage, about which she writes very gingerly. It is doubtful if such studies as this will ever be read by the very people who need them most.

Negro Office-Holders in Virginia, 1865-1895. **By Luther P. Jackson. Norfolk: Guide Quality Press, 1945. XII+88pp.**

For many years Dr. Jackson, professor of history at Virginia State college, has been profitably working the rich lode of Negro history to be found in his state. In this study he turns his attention to the Negroes who held elective office in Virginia during the period 1865-1895. Negroes were active for thirty years in Virginia politics as assemblymen, legislators (there were 102 of them), delegates, members of school boards, and policemen. Only one, however, John M. Langston, went to Congress. These men were as well educated as most politicians of that period, and a majority of them held property. Thirty-five of them were born free. Biographical notes are supplied for most of the entries. An instructive booklet for students of Negro history.

ECUADORIAN POETRY

Adalberto Ortiz, the Ecuadorian writer whose novel *Juyungo* (Negro) won first prize in the Ecuadorian National Novel Contest in 1942, has now brought out a volume of poems with the tropical title *Tierra, Son y Tambor*: Cantares Negros y Mulatos (Mexico City; Ediciones La Cigarra, 1945. 84 pp.), with an introduction by Joaquín Gallegos Lara and twenty-eight woodcuts by Galo Galecio. The title may be Englished: *Earth, Son and Drums*: Negro and Mulatto Songs. *Son* here being the name of the popular Afro-American dance.

Ortiz's poems parade before us the life of the Negroes and mulattoes of Esmeraldas, a province in the northwest part of Ecuador. "Until a few years ago," writes Lara in his introduction, "the Afro-Ecuadorian scene had found only sporadic expression in literature." Nelson Estupiñán Bass, the esmeraldeño mulatto, was the first, but he soon became a Marxian revolutionary and "seemed more the poet of Harlem than Esmeraldas." Ecuador had to wait for the mulatto novelist and poet Adalberto Ortiz, now connected with the Ecuadorian consulate in Mexico City before her poetry began to echo the daily lives of the esmeraldeño Negroes and mulattoes. Lara further explains in his introduction:

"With Adalberto Ortiz appears an authentic poet, an Ecuadorian Negro poet. . . . His Negro and mulatto poems do not resemble those of the Brazilians,

(Continued on page 318)

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New Imperialism

(Continued from page 315)

in his view political liberty was of little account without the necessary economic and social developments. This is a point of view which the late Tory Colonial Secretary, Colonel Oliver Stanley, advocated in regard to the non-self-governing territories of the British Empire. But how the social and economic developments which the imperialists consider the necessary precondition for political liberty will be achieved in the colonies within any reasonable given time, they do not state.

Having illustrated the inherent imperialist character of the trusteeship system, a word must be said about the pernicious advocacy which the Fabians, Social-Imperialists that they are, having rejected the right of complete self-determination for all subject peoples, are giving to an extension of the trusteeship system. Not satisfied with the mandated colonies being placed under this "trusteeship," they actually want all dependent peoples — *Indians, Burmese, Ceylonese, West Indians, East Africans, West Africans, South Africans, Cypriots, Maltese, to be thrown into the "pool," in order that they enjoy what they maintain to be the advantages of "trusteeship."*

In their Pamphlet, No. 92, issued under their research series in August, 1945, they conclude that the gains which the Charter represents are to be welcomed. They maintain that "the proposals do not yet, however, meet the full demands which have been put forward by the British Labor movement and progressive thought in many countries, over a long period of years. . . . We cannot rest content until the far broader proposals, which the British Labor movement has consistently sponsored, have become a reality." That is, until all dependent territories are placed under "trusteeship."

Now this plan would fit in with the aims of Dollar Imperialism. For any non-self-governing territory — whether Jamaica, Gold Coast or Rhodesia— brought within the jurisdiction of the Trusteeship Council would be subject to the "Open Door" policy. American business men would then have the same right as British capitalists to buy bananas or cocoa, or copper, or any other raw material from these colonies, on the same terms. And this at the time when Britain must hold on to her imperial privileges for dear life! Will the Labor Party, now that it is steering the British imperialist ship, retract its former advocacy? But this is a matter for Labor Imperialists and their Wall Street rivals to fight over. Reference to the problem is only made as an indication of the very complicated pattern of the whole colonial question. Not without reason, Lord Salisbury once asserted that "Africa has been created to plague Ministers of Foreign Affairs."

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Ecuadorian Poetry

(Continued from page 316)

Cubans, or Northamericans. Their originality of conception shows that they stem directly from life itself instead of from books. These poems derive their sustenance from direct contact with the Negro soul and the Ecuadorian soil. Frobenius would have loved them. The struggles and the human warmth of these poems lift them above the level of folklore and the festivity of jazz into a deep realization of the full significance of destiny."

Earth, Son and Drums is a stimulating and original first volume of poetry, and we shall now look forward with eagerness to the apearance of the author's *Camino y punto de la angustia.* The book has a glossary of regional terms for the benefit of non-Ecuadorian readers. Some of the poems have passages of *jitanjáfora*—Mariano Brull's term for thoughtless, rhythmic singing—but these should cause no difficulty if the reader remembers that they are put in primarily for their onomatopoeic effect and rhythm.

J. W. Ivy.

One of the interesting new publications is A. P. Marshall's *A Guide to Negro Periodical Literature,* of which the March, 1946, Vol. 4, No. 1, issue is the first since February, 1943. Now that Mr. Marshall is out of the services and back at his former position of librarian at the Winston-Salem Teachers college, Winston-Salem, N. C., he plans to get out his index quarterly in the months of June, September, and December. The brochure is a handy index, by author and subject, to nineteen serious and popular Negro magazines. The price is 40¢ a copy, $2.70 a year.

• • •

Knopf has brought out an English version of Gilberto Freyre's *Casa-Grande & Senzala* under the title of *The Masters and the Slaves.* The translation is by Samuel Putnam. The book will be reviewed in an early issue of *The Crisis.*

• • •

Among the recent publications on the so-called race question is Margaret Halsey's *Color Blind* (Simon & Schuster). The subtitle is "A White Woman Looks at the Negro." Though there is little that is new in the book, the point of view is refreshing. Miss Halsey writes largely about her own experiences at the famous Stage Door Canteen in New York City where racial discrimination was taboo and white and Negro junior hostesses danced with servicemen of all races and colors. Our author also faces the sexual issue in race relations very frankly.

• • •

First selection of The One World Book Club is George Wylie Henderson's *Jule.* The theme of the book is the friendship of a black boy, Jule, and a white boy, Rollo, in the deep South. *Jule* is his first full-length novel since *Ollie Miss.* Alphonse Heninburg is the executive director of The One World Book Club, and the advisory board is made up of prominent people of both races.

A Christmas Bulletin

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Of The Crisis, published monthly at New York, for October 1, 1946, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James W. Ivy, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of The Crisis and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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JAMES W. IVY.
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